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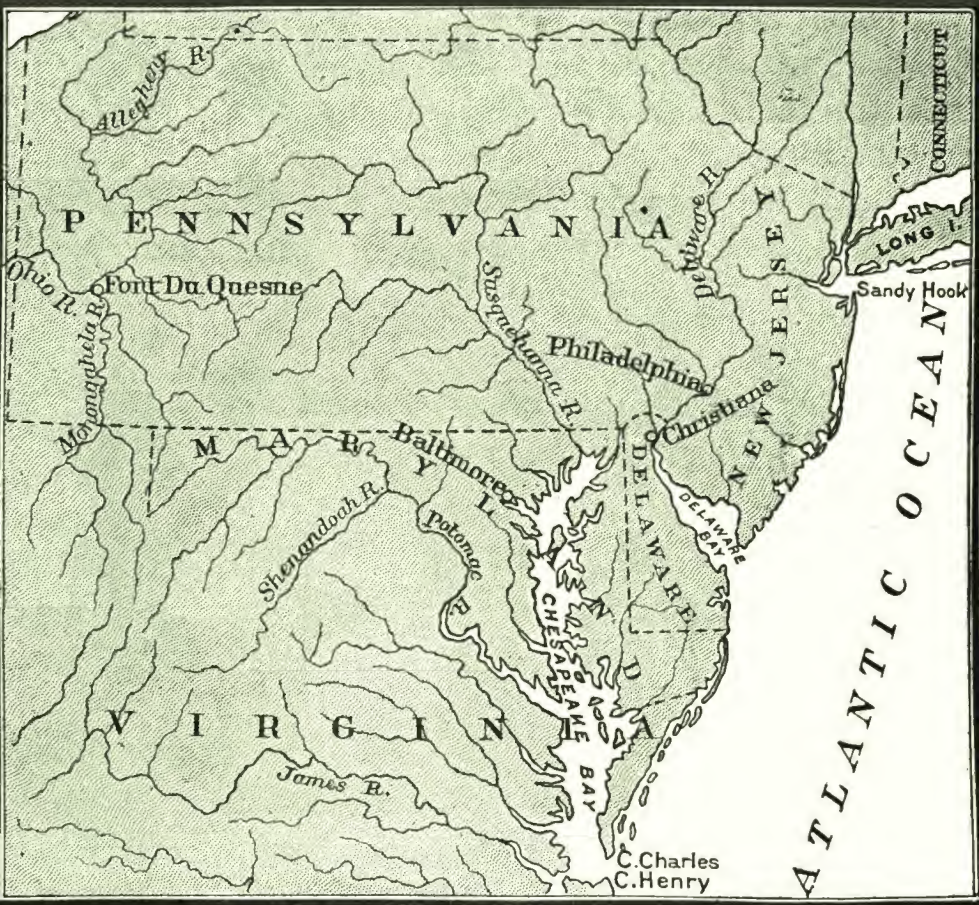

A history of Pennsylvania

Allen Clapp Thomas

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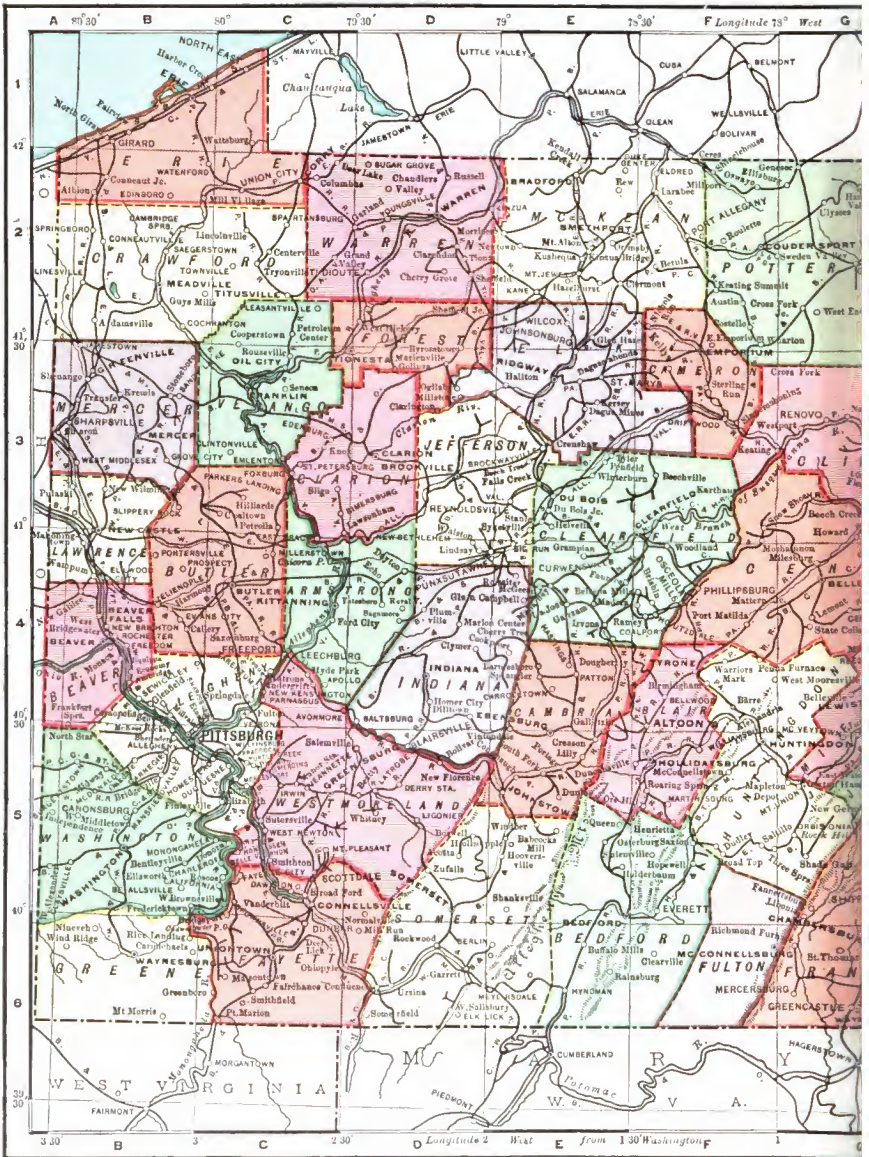

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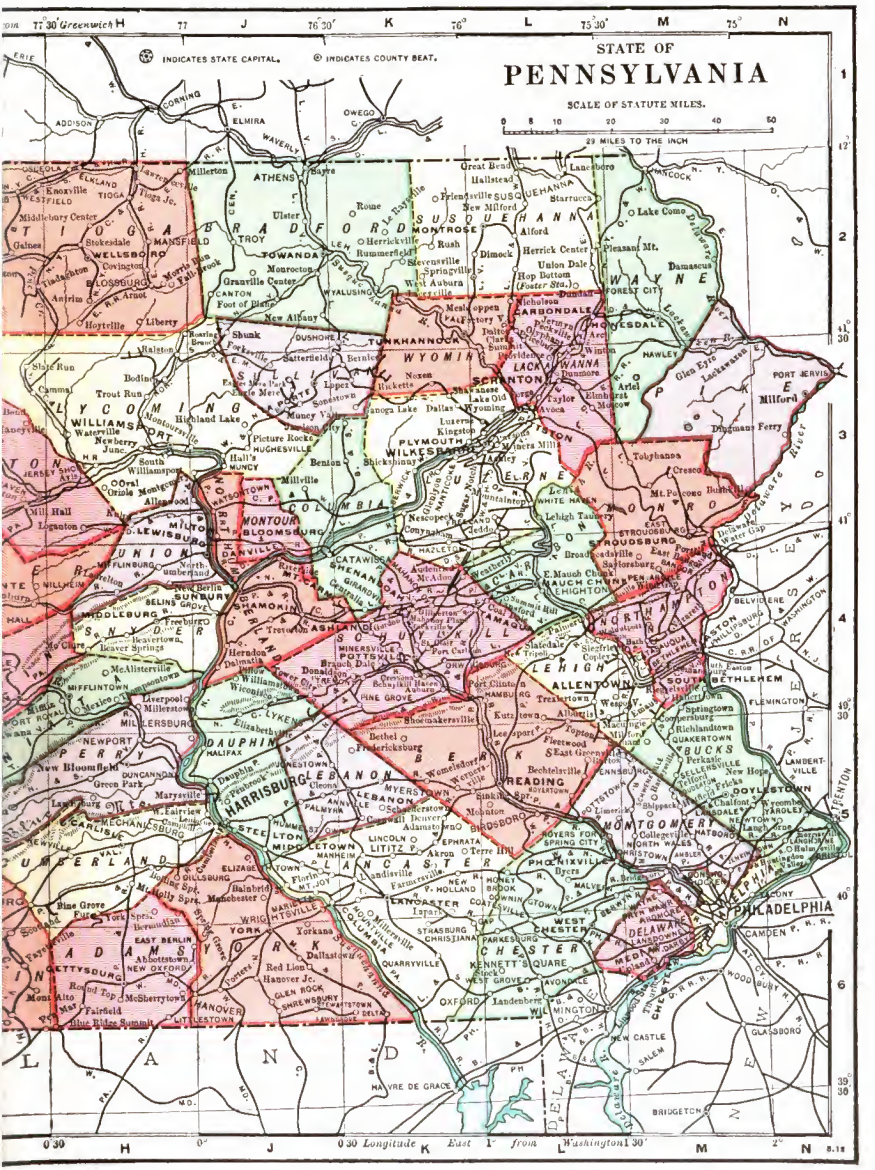
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A HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book has been written to furnish a brief yet adequate account of the history of Pennsylvania in a form which will commend itself to teachers and pupils.

It is believed that no event essential to a correct view of the history of the State has been omitted, and the effort has been made to present an impartial and truthful picture.

The author has, in general, followed the chronological order of events, believing that, on the whole, the progress and development of the State can in that way best be understood. A general knowledge of the history of the United States has been taken for granted, and only those facts which are directly connected with the history of Pennsylvania have been mentioned.

ALLEN C. THOMAS

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

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HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA

CHAPTER I

EARLY SETTLEMENTS

English Settlements in America. — The story of the English settlements in North America is long and interesting. There is much of romance and adventure in it, and not a little of suffering, of disaster, and of failure. But the story of the early English settlement of Pennsylvania is for the most part one of peace and prosperity. The settler on the borders of the forest did not fear the attack of the savage Indian as did his New England brother, and few families had to bewail the captivity of women and children. Many of the privations of the frontier were unknown to the early settlers of this middle land. Why Pennsylvania was so different from most of the other colonies will be seen as we go on with her history.

Though the English claimed the Atlantic coast of North America from Maine to Florida, there was in 1680, but a fringe of settlements along the seaboard. Strange to say, one of the most fertile and desirable parts of the country east of the Alleghanies was almost bare of Europeans. This was the land west of New Jersey, south of New York, and north of Maryland and Virginia, which is now known as Pennsylvania. True, there were some settlers along the Delaware Bay and River, but they were few. They were of three nationalities, Dutch, Swedish, and English.

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The Indians; Delawares. — How many Indians there were in the year 1680 in what is now Pennsylvania cannot be known, although some think there were about five thousand. These Indians were scattered throughout the territory, and their villages were far apart.

The Indians in the Delaware Valley were called the Lenni Lenapé or Delawares. Little is known of their history, for they had no records, or monuments, and few traditions. They hunted and fished, and cultivated lands, raising Indian corn and vegetables. They had a few rude manufactures, but did not know the use of metals. They had no domestic animals except dogs. They carried themselves well, and were, says William Penn, "Tall, straight, well built, and of singular good proportion. They tread strong and clear, and mostly walk with a lofty chin; . . . their eye is little and black." Their hair also was black and straight and their skin was reddish brown or copper colored.

The Lenni Lenapé or Delawares were divided into three tribes, the Minsi or Minisinks, the Unami, and the Unalachtigo. The Minsi lived north of the Lehigh River, the Unami south of the Lehigh as far as the mouth of the Schuylkill, and the Unalachtigo, south of the Schuylkill. It was with the last two that William Penn made his celebrated treaties. The totem or mark of the Minsi was the wolf; of the Unami, the turtle; and of the Unalachtigo, the turkey.[1]

In addition to the tribes named there were the Shawnees or Shawanese, who came from the South about 1700, and the Conestogas, an Iroquois tribe, living on the Susquehanna, and other Iroquois and Algonkin tribes.

Indian Characteristics. — The chief of the tribe was called

[1] Each clan or tribe had as its totem or emblem the figure of the beast, bird, reptile, plant, or other object from which its name is derived.

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a sachem, and he with the older men governed the tribe, but when the question of making war came up all the warriors or braves took part. Everything was done with dignity, and after careful discussion. Whatever faults the Indians had, and they were many, they were faithful to their

DELAWARE INDIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

treaties and promises if the other party was also faithful. William Penn said of those with whom he was familiar, "Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them." On the other hand, the Indians were cruel and revengeful to their enemies. They hesitated at no trick, no deception, or unlooked-for attack, and treated men, women, and children without mercy, no matter how innocent they might be. Their greatest trophies were the scalps of their enemies, and the number of scalps a warrior could display was the measure of his bravery and skill.

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The Delawares were more peaceful than many of those with whom the settlers of other colonies came in contact. But time showed that when roused by ill-treatment, injustice, and fraud, they could be as savage and revengeful as any of their race.

Henry Hudson. — The first Englishman to enter Delaware Bay was probably Henry Hudson, who was in the service of the Dutch, and was seeking for a northwest passage to India. In August, 1609, he entered the bay in his small vessel, the *Half Moon*, and at first thought that he had found the longed-for strait. The shoal water a few miles inside the capes drove away all hope of that, and sailing away northward he soon discovered New York Bay and the noble river which now bears his name.

On account of Hudson's discovery the Dutch claimed not only the lands near the North or Hudson River, but also those near the South or Delaware River. In 1610 an English captain is said to have anchored in the bay and named the southern cape De La Warre, and the English began to call the bay, Delaware, in honor of the governor of Virginia.

Captain Mey; Hendricksen. — Another captain in the service of the Dutch, Cornelius Jacobsen Mey or May, sailed along the coast about 1614, and reaching this most southern point of what we call New Jersey, named it after himself, a name which the cape still retains. One of his vessels having been burned, he built at Manhattan (New York) another, only forty-five feet long, which was named the *Onrust* (Restless). In this small craft another Captain, Cornelius Hendricksen, sailed up Delaware Bay and River in 1616, carefully exploring them. He probably went as far as the site of Philadelphia and discovered the Schuylkill River. On his return he gave a glowing account of what he had

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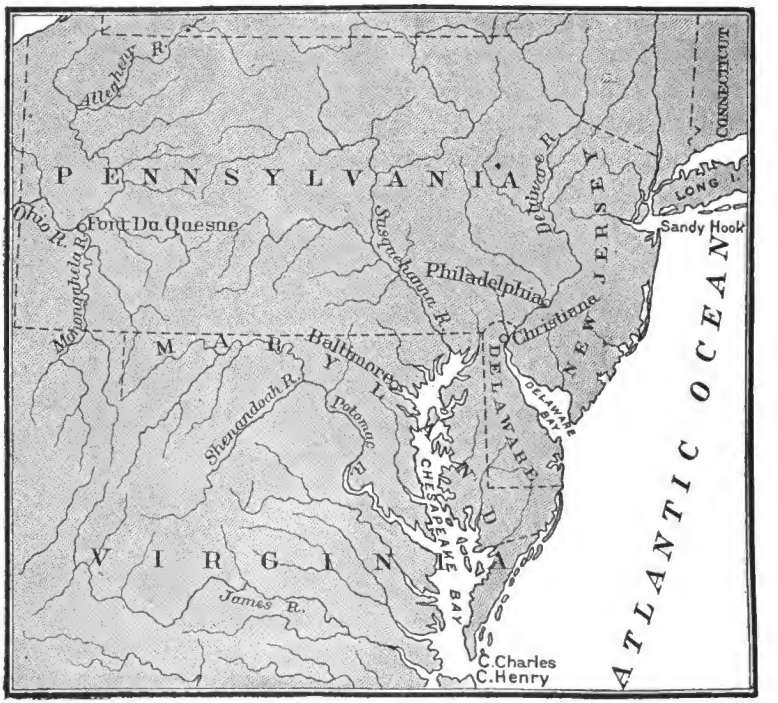

PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, DELAWARE, AND NEW JERSEY

seen: woods filled with deer, turkeys, and partridges, and other game and vines full of grapes.

Dutch Colonies on the Delaware. — The Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, was organized by a Swede named William Usselinx. Under its auspices a vessel was sent out to the South (Delaware) River under Captain Mey, with instructions to build a fort for the purpose of defense and for trading with the natives. This was done at the place where Gloucester, New Jersey, now stands. It was named Fort Nassau.[1]

[1] The site is opposite the southern part of Philadelphia.

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A colony was started by the Dutch in 1629. Through Peter Minuit, Governor of Manhattan, land was bought from the Indians, and in 1631 colonists to the number of about thirty settled near where Lewes, Delaware, now is, and called the place Swannendael. The next year, owing

DUTCH COLONISTS AND INDIANS

to a dispute, all the settlers were killed by Indians and the colony destroyed.

Fort Nassau, which had been abandoned by the Dutch, was re-occupied by them in 1633 when they bought from the Indians lands on the Schuylkill River, and built a small block house for trading purposes.

The Swedes on the Delaware. — The great Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, wished that Sweden should have a share in colonizing the New World, and one of the last things he did before the Battle of Lützen (1632) in which he lost his life, was to sign a charter making provision for settlements. The king's plans were carried out by Count Oxenstiern, the

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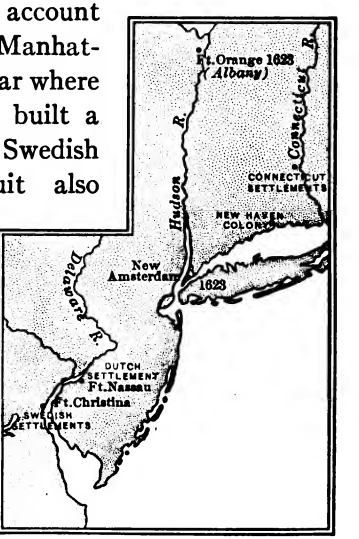
Chancellor of Sweden, and near the close of 1637 two small vessels filled with Swedish and Finnish colonists set sail for the South or Delaware River, which was reached in 1638.

Peter Minuit, who had left the Dutch, and entered the service of the Swedes, was made leader of this expedition. He was well fitted for his post on account of his experience as governor of Manhattan. The little colony landed near where Wilmington, Delaware, now is, built a fort which was called, after the Swedish queen, Fort Christina. Minuit also bought from the natives (1638) all the west shore of the Delaware from Bombay Hook to the Schuylkill River.



MAP SHOWING EARLY DUTCH AND SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS

When the Dutch at Fort Nassau heard of the Swedish colony they protested against the intrusion, as did also the Dutch governor, Kieft, at Manhattan, and the English in Virginia. Minuit paid little or no attention to these protests. The colony drove a thriving trade with the Indians, with whom they continued to be on friendly terms. In 1640 the Swedes bought of the Indians the land along the Delaware River from the Schuylkill River as far as the falls at Trenton.

Governor Printz. — The settlement at Fort Christina increased in population; the houses were small and inconvenient, and were built of round logs with the crevices plastered with clay; the doors were so low that one had to

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stoop when entering; the windows were mere loopholes closed by means of sliding boards, for there was no glass; and the fireplaces were made of round stones or clay. In 1642 a new governor, Johan Printz, was sent out. He was an able man and an experienced soldier. "Physically he was a huge man weighing over four hundred pounds; the Indians called him the 'big tub.'" He proved himself to be one of the best colonial governors of his day. He built a fort on Tinicum Island, and also a fine residence for himself. More vessels came from Sweden and there grew up a promising colony in New Sweden, as the land was called, though probably there were never more than two or three hundred Swedish colonists. As time went on the colonists were not well supplied from Sweden with goods for barter, and the trade with the natives dwindled.

The Dutch continued to look upon the Swedes as intruders and there were not unfrequent quarrels between the two. Owing to lack of support from home authorities, Governor Printz left the colony and returned to Sweden. But in 1654 the largest party of emigrants arrived that had yet come to New Sweden. They numbered three hundred and fifty men, women, and children. The new governor, Rising, was more active than Printz, and New Sweden, for a time, seemed to be in a flourishing condition. The Swedes had good crops and built a mill on Cobbs' Creek and erected more houses and churches.

Dutch Conquest of New Sweden. — This success of the Swedes roused the Dutch, who began to fear that they would lose the country along the Delaware. So in 1655 they fitted out a small fleet, embarked six hundred men, and started to recover New Sweden for the Dutch. The expedition was completely successful, for the Swedes had no soldiers to pro-

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tect themselves, and the Dutch gained the whole territory without bloodshed. The terms of the conquerors were liberal. The Swedes were allowed to remain on taking oaths of allegiance to Holland and the Dutch West India Company. They were not disturbed in their religion. Those that wished could return to Sweden. Very few Dutch settlers came, so the country, though governed by the Dutch, continued to be Swedish in all other respects.

Dutch Wagon of Colonial Times

Most of the Swedes lived on the west side of the Delaware, between New Castle and the site of Philadelphia, and continued on friendly terms with the Indians. Upland (Chester) and New Amstel (Newcastle) were their chief towns or villages.

The English take Manhattan, 1664. — The English had not given up their claim to the Atlantic coast of North America, which they said belonged to them by virtue of the discovery by the Cabots in 1497. King Charles II granted to his brother James, Duke of York, that territory in America which was then held by the Dutch. In order to assert his right of possession, the Duke of York, in 1664, sent out a strong force under Colonel Richard Nicholls. Nicholls with his fleet appeared before New Amsterdam and caught the colony and their governor, Peter Stuyvesant, wholly unprepared. As resistance was hopeless, Stuyvesant submitted, all New Netherland came under English rule, and New Amsterdam became New York.

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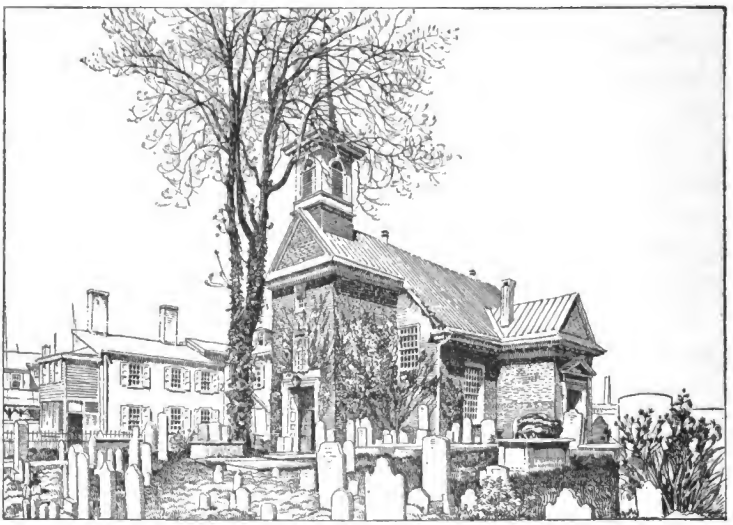
The English take Dutch Settlements on the Delaware. — The conquest included the country south of New York, now known as New Jersey, and the settlements on the Delaware, or the English claimed that it did, for they sent an expedition from New York to take possession of the Delaware.



OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

When the vessels appeared before New Amstel, the Dutch commander of that place refused to surrender, and Sir Robert Carr, the English commander, attacked the place. The Dutch were defeated, and a time of plunder followed. The Dutch soldiers were sold into slavery and the lands of the Dutch confiscated. This victory brought the Dutch rule on the Delaware to an end. The only important stipulation of the victors was that all should take an oath of allegiance to the English king. This the Swedes were very willing to do, and from this time the English ruled along the Delaware.

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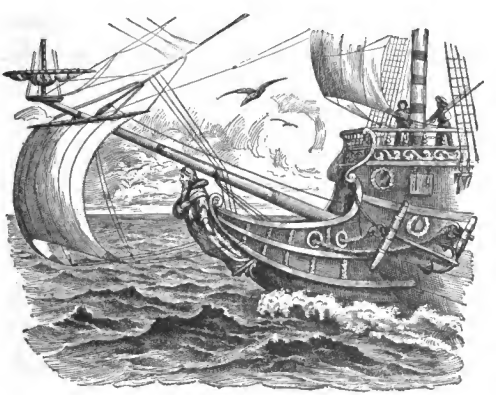
The chief officers were appointed by the Duke of York, and a council of colonists advised with them. Peace and quiet followed, but the colony did not grow rapidly. Their settlements extended as far as the site of Philadelphia and a church was built about 1669 at a place known as Wicaco, now in the city of Philadelphia. This church was rebuilt in 1700, and is still known as the Old Swedes' Church. Though some English settlers came,[1] for a number of years the population consisted mostly of Swedes, Dutch, and Finns.

In 1673 a Dutch fleet appeared before New York just as the English fleet had done nine years before, and, finding the city just as unprepared, re-took it, and the Dutch flag once more waved over New Amsterdam. But peace between the English and Dutch was made the next year (1674) and New Netherland was restored to the English. These changes apparently did not affect the settlers on the Delaware.

[1] Among these were some English Quakers from West Jersey. See next chapter.



PROW OF A DUTCH VESSEL OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Showing the figurehead of St. Nicholas

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CHAPTER II

WILLIAM PENN

The Friends or Quakers. — The seventeenth century in England was a time of great unrest in religious matters, and many sects or denominations arose. Among these sects was that of the Friends or Quakers. Their founder, George Fox, was born in 1624 of respectable parents in moderate circumstances. Like many others at that time, he was not satisfied with the religious teaching of the day, and after some time began to preach doctrines of his own. This was about 1647.

The chief tenets of belief of the Friends were: that God speaks directly to the heart of everyone, and that each one must listen to this inward voice and obey it; that true worship is a communion of the heart with God, and that outward ceremonies and ordinances are not essential; that all men are equal, and therefore there should be no clergy and laity; and as all were equal, all should be addressed in the same way, and treated alike; and that men and women should be on an equality in the church. They also believed that war was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, and hence wrong; and that no one should be forced to contribute to a state church.

It was an age in which much importance was attached to rank, to rites and ceremonies, and to a literal interpretation of the Bible. To differ from the prevailing religious teachings was thought a serious offence, and war was held to be not only allowable but praiseworthy. It is easy to see how at

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many points the Quakers would come into conflict with these views. They would not pay tithes to support the established church; they would not take an oath even of allegiance, though always ready to make a declaration of fidelity to the government, and to submit to the penalties for perjury if they made false statements; they would not take off the hat to anyone or use complimentary forms of address; they would not attend church services; they insisted on meeting together for religious worship in their own way and openly in spite of laws to the contrary.[1]

Besides this, they actively spread their teachings in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and even to some extent on the Continent and in America. They gathered many converts, and without question presented a somewhat difficult problem to the British rulers.[2]

As a result of practicing their principles thousands of Quakers were condemned to be put into the loathsome jails of that period, where they suffered terribly and hundreds of them died. Others were heavily fined, banished from Great Britain, or sold into slavery in the West Indies. It was an easy thing to punish the Quakers, for if everything else failed the magistrates could tender them the oath of allegiance, and as the Quakers would always refuse to take any oath, a sentence to prison would follow as a matter of course.

It was natural that the Quakers should desire a way of

[1] The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade, under severe penalties, the meeting together for worship of more than five persons except in the case of the Church of England.

[2] It has been estimated that at the death of George Fox, in 1691, there were between 50,000 and 60,000 Friends in England, making them one of the first four Nonconforming bodies, the others being the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Catholics

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escape from persecution and that their thoughts should be turned toward America. As early as 1660 a Friend, Josiah Coale, came to America on behalf of the Quakers, to treat with the Indians near the Susquehanna River for lands in the interior. But nothing was done on account of wars then going on among the Indians.

Nova Caesarea or New Jersey. — The large tract of land between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, ceded by Charles II to his brother James, Duke of York (1664), was, in return for services, given by the Duke to John, Lord Berkeley,[1] and Sir George Carteret. This province was named New Jersey in honor of Carteret, who was governor of the island of Jersey[2] of which he was a native.

In 1674 the province was divided, Carteret receiving East Jersey and Berkeley West Jersey.[3]

Berkeley was an old man and unable to manage his province successfully, so he sold it to two Friends or Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge, for the sum of one thousand pounds sterling. Byllynge and Fenwick quarreled, and being unable to come to a settlement, William Penn was agreed upon as arbitrator. The result was that one-tenth was awarded to Fenwick. Byllynge, on account of business troubles, assigned his share to three trustees, all Quakers, one of whom was William Penn.[4] Fenwick's share shortly after also came under the control of these trustees.

These circumstances brought Penn into close acquaintance

[1] This Berkeley was a brother of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia.

[2] The name was originally Nova Caesarea, but the English form was preferred from the first.

[3] The dividing line ran from Rancocas Creek to Barnegat Bay.

[4] Fenwick had been a neighbor of William Penn, which doubtless led to the choice of Penn as an arbitrator.

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with conditions in the New World, and would seem without doubt a principal cause of Penn's interest in the settlement of Pennsylvania.[1]

William Penn.—William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, one of Oliver Cromwell's naval commanders. In company with General Richard Venables he had captured from Spain the island of Jamaica, which from that time has belonged to Great Britain. On the restoration of the Stuarts to the British throne Sir William Penn became devoted to them, and he had lent Charles II a large sum of money.

WILLIAM PENN
At the age of 22. After a portrait by an unknown artist

His son William, born in 1644, was educated in all the accomplishments of the day. He was sent to Christ Church College, Oxford, when he was sixteen. While at Oxford he fell in with Thomas Loe, a former Oxford student, but now one of the despised Quakers. Penn was profoundly influenced by this man and refused to wear surplices in the chapel or to attend the college chapel. For these offences he was, it is said, expelled from the university. Admiral Penn, highly displeased with his son, sent him to Paris, expecting that a stay in that gay city would drive Quakers and puritanical notions out of his head. The young man did, to a considerable extent, adopt fashionable ways, but did not lose his

[1] The report of George Fox, who visited America (1672–1673), undoubtedly also influenced Penn.

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taste for religious matters. He returned two years later to London and began the study of law. His father next sent him to Ireland, and we hear of him as helping to put down a mutiny, and being so pleased with his military experience that he asked his father to allow him to enter the army.

William Penn becomes a Quaker. — The family estates were in the south of Ireland, and the Admiral sent his son, now twenty-two years old, to look after them. Penn being in Cork, and hearing that his old friend, Thomas Loe, was to be present at a meeting of the Quakers, went to see him. Loe preached, and Penn was so much impressed by what he heard that he became a Quaker and from this time never wavered in his allegiance to the Quakers. It was not long before Penn was in prison for attending Quaker meetings. After he was released his father sent for him and soon found that his son had indeed become a changed man. Nothing could move him. In 1670 a complete reconciliation with his father took place, the Admiral realizing that his son would not change his views.

The Conventicle Act[1] fell heavily upon the Friends, and William Penn and a Friend, William Mead, were indicted and arrested for speaking in an unlawful assembly. The trial which followed is one celebrated in British annals. The jury refused to find the prisoners guilty, and though the jurors were sent to a loathsome prison and fined, they persisted in their verdict, thus vindicating the right of a jury to bring in a verdict in accordance with their conscience. The jury was soon discharged, but Penn and Mead were kept in prison until someone paid their fines.

William Penn and New Jersey. — A few days after Penn's release his father died and Penn found himself a wealthy

[1] See footnote, page 13.

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man. For several years he spent his time in writing Quaker books and in preaching.[1] He also frequently interceded for his Quaker brethren at court, for he kept up the friendship of his family for King Charles and the Duke of York.

As a trustee for Byllynge, Penn became intimately connected with the affairs of West Jersey and took an active part in drawing up a plan of government for that colony (1677). The scheme, called "The Concessions," is one of the most liberal constitutions the world has seen, and there is no doubt that it is chiefly Penn's work. The spirit displayed is admirable. "No person . . . shall be called in question or in the least punished or hurt either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith, or worship towards God in matters of religion." "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people."

[1] He traveled twice in Holland and Germany, and became an intimate friend of the Princess Elizabeth, a granddaughter of James I of England. William Penn was twice married, first in 1672 to Gulielma Maria Springett (d. 1693); and in 1696 to Hannah Callowhill, who survived him, and died in 1726.

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CHAPTER III

LAND GRANT AND CHARTER OF PENNSYLVANIA

Penn's Qualifications for a Colonizer. — William Penn was peculiarly fitted to undertake the establishment of a colony. He had been well educated; he had studied law; he was possessed of ample means; he had traveled widely; and his circle of personal friends embraced individuals of almost every rank in the community. More than once he had suffered fine and imprisonment for conscience sake, and he had nobly stood for liberty of speech during one of the notable trials in English history. He had also gained practical experience in colonial affairs through his connection with the Jerseys, whose legislation he had himself largely shaped. Besides all this he had a deep sense of his responsibility to his fellow men, and he was a prominent member of a sect which at that time was one of the very few which upheld not merely toleration, but freedom for religious faith and practice.[1]

Royal Grant of Pennsylvania. — The claim against the British crown, which Admiral Penn had bequeathed to his son (p. 15), amounted in 1680, with interest, to about £16,000. William Penn petitioned Charles II that he might be given a grant of lands in America instead of money. The careless monarch was only too glad to be so easily rid of his debt. But Penn could hardly have gained his wish, had he not had at the court great influence, which came to him through

[1] *Toleration* implies a privilege which is granted; *freedom* is the *right* to perform.

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his father and through his own personal worth and characteristics. Admiral Penn had commended his son to James, Duke of York, brother of the king, and notwithstanding the difference in character between the immoral prince and the pure-minded Quaker, they were good friends. Influential men in the council were also favorable to Penn. He was fond of society and must have had pleasing manners, or he could not have stood so well at court. Penn himself says, "I know of no religion that destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness." Thus the royal debt, combined with his personal influence at court, gave him an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself.

His petition was granted, and after an examination to see that the proposed patent did not encroach on lands already disposed of [1] and rights already confirmed, a charter was granted and the document signed March 4, 1680.[2] The only payment asked in return was "two beaver skins to be delivered at our said castle of Windsor on the first day of January of every year, and also the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore" that might be found in the territory.

Penn's Motives in establishing Pennsylvania. — It has often been said that Penn's chief motive in seeking to establish a colony in America was to afford a refuge for persecuted Quakers. Unquestionably this must have been a strong motive, but it was not the only one. There is no doubt that he also saw in America the opportunity to put into practice the theories of government which he had long held and

[1] Owing to the ignorance which prevailed in regard to latitude and longitude, and boundaries in the New World, the results of the examination were far from being accurate.

[2] The original charter was lost about 1844; the document preserved at Harrisburg, often spoken of as the original, is a fine copy.

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FAC-SIMILE OF PART OF THE DEED GIVEN TO PENN

defended and which were far more advanced than those of most of his contemporaries. Penn himself, in a letter written to a friend a few months after obtaining the charter, said, "I have so obtained it . . . that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment."

Penn thought of naming his province New Wales, but that was objected to, and he then suggested Sylvania. To this Penn was added, and the name became Pennsylvania, "A name the king would give it in honor of my father." [1]

[1] Penn writes, "I much opposed and went to the King to have it struck out and altered; he said it was past and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked upon as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise."

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Extent of the Province; Delaware. — The intent of the charter was to give Penn three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude, beginning with the fortieth degree of latitude, which was supposed to run through New Castle.[1] This was an error, for the parallel really runs through the northern part of Philadelphia. This mistake was the cause of serious trouble between Penn and Lord Baltimore and their successors, and led to much hard feeling and to charges of fraud on both sides.

[1] The words in the charter are, "The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds [the Delaware River]; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle northward and westward, **unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude; and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned.**"

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Penn, fully aware of the value of easy and unobstructed passage to the sea, asked the Duke of York to cede to him the territory now known as Delaware.[1] This the Duke consented to do. Thus Penn became the proprietor of a territory not much smaller than England, and over which he had almost regal power.

The Charter of Pennsylvania. — The charter of Pennsylvania was largely the work of Penn himself, though important changes must have been made in his draft. It is evidently based upon the charter of Maryland which, with the exception of that of Rhode Island, was the most liberal of the colonial charters. One of the provisions, which must have been added by the officers of the crown, was that Penn, or the proprietary, as he is called, should be "captain-general" and have power to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men and to make war as well by sea as by land. Another provision was that all laws made in the province should be sent to the privy council in England within five years after their passage, but unless these laws were rejected by the council, they should remain in force;[2] still another was, that no tax should be imposed on the colony "without consent of the Proprietary, or Chief Governor, or Assembly, or by act of Parliament in England."[3]

[1] This territory was called the "three lower counties" (Kent, New Castle and Sussex). For about twenty years they formed part of Pennsylvania, but there was continual trouble between the settlers, and in 1703 the counties were set off, and though having the same governor as Pennsylvania, had a separate legislature until the American Revolution, when they became "Delaware State."

[2] The colonies sometimes evaded this provision by re-enacting a law objectionable to the council.

[3] The right of Parliament to tax the colony was not exercised until about the time of the Revolution.

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The king issued a proclamation announcing the transfer to Penn and calling upon all persons in the province to obey the proprietor. Having received legal authority over his province, Penn issued an address to the few European settlers in his new domain, in which he stated his position clearly, using these noble words: "You are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person."

Markham Deputy Governor, 1681. — Penn drew up a frame of government for his province, and sent out his cousin, William Markham, to take formal possession and act as his deputy.[1] Markham reached New York, where the Duke of York's representative lived, in the summer of 1681, and having obtained the legal surrender of the province from the Duke's agent went on to Upland (Chester). Here he called together a council of nine of the settlers, two of whom were Swedes. This was the beginning of Penn's actual rule.

One of the first things Markham did was to buy a tract of land from the Indians. The bounds began on the Delaware River opposite Trenton, where Morrisville now is, and the tract comprised the lower part of Bucks County. It was in this tract that Penn's manor of Pennsbury was afterwards located. The land was paid for by a number of articles valued by the Indians,[2] who were, as far as appears, entirely

[1] Very little is known of Markham. He was probably the son of a sister of Admiral Penn. Even the year of his birth is unknown. He died in Philadelphia in 1704. He was not a Quaker, but an Episcopalian.

[2] The list, an interesting one, is as follows: 350 fathoms of wampum, 20 white blankets, 20 fathoms of strawed waters, 60 fathoms of duffields, 20 kettles, 4 whereof large, 20 guns, 20 coats, 40 shirts, 40 pair of stockings, 40

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satisfied with the sale. Markham had conferences with other Indians for the purpose of getting their good will and for explaining to them Penn's purpose to treat them justly. At Upland he also met Lord Baltimore, the Proprietor of Maryland, to discuss the matter of the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Owing to various causes, especially the lack of proper instruments for determining the latitude, all definite action was deferred.

Penn published *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*, and distributed the pamphlet widely in Great Britain; it was also translated into German and circulated in South Germany. In this pamphlet he described the advantages of his province as to climate, fertility of soil, abundance of forests, and other desirable features. Land could be bought at the rate of five thousand acres for one hundred pounds sterling on agreeing to pay yearly to the proprietary one shilling rent for each one hundred acres.

Plans for a City; Philadelphia.—Penn also sent out commissioners directing them to lay out a city, and make treaties with the Indians. He planned to make Upland (Chester) the chief town, but he gave his commissioners authority to select another site if they thought best. They were to choose a place where large ships could easily unload, and where the land was high and healthful. Ten thousand acres were to be devoted to the town, and the tract was to be divided into good sized plots, "so there may be ground on either side for gardens or orchards, or fields, so that it may

hoes, 40 axes, 2 barrels of powder, 200 bars of lead, 200 knives, 200 small glasses, 12 pairs of shoes, 40 copper boxes, 40 tobacco tongs, 2 small barrels of pipes, 40 pair of scissors, 40 combs, 24 pounds of red lead, 100 awls, 2 handfuls of fish hooks, 2 handfuls of needles, 40 pounds of shot, 10 bundles of beads, 10 small saws, 12 drawing-knives, 4 ankers of tobacco, 2 ankers of rum, 2 ankers of cider, 200 ankers of beer and 300 guilders.

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A brief Account of the

Province of Pennsylvania,

Lately Granted by the

KING,

Under the GREAT

Seal of England,

TO

WILLIAM PENN

AND HIS

Heirs and Assigns.

Since (by the good Providence of *God*, and the Favour of the *King*) a Country in *America* is fallen to my Lot, I thought it not less my Duty, then my Honest Interest, to give some publick notice of it to the World, that those of our own or other Nations, that are inclin'd to Transport Themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their Choice; that if they shall happen to like the Place, Conditions, and Government, (so far as the present Infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me in the Province, hereafter described.

I. *The* KING'S *Title to this Country before he granted it.*

It is the *Jus Gentium*, or Law of Nations, that what ever Waste, or uncultured Country, is the Discovery of any Prince, it is the right of that Prince that was at the Charge of the Discovery: Now this *Province* is a Member of that part of *America*, which the King of *Englands* Ancestors have been at the Charge of Discovering, and which they and he have taken great care to preserve and Improve.

II. William

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF "A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA"

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be a green country town which will never be burnt and always be wholesome." [1]

The commissioners did not think that Upland was satisfactory, so they chose a site at a place called Coaquanock, where there was a high and well-wooded bank, with deep water in front, and near where a river, named by the Dutch Schuylkill, ran into the Delaware. This, in accordance with Penn's direction, was named Philadelphia.[2]

Thomas Holme, the surveyor, did not find it practicable to follow Penn's plans, and instead of laying out ten thousand acres, laid out only twelve hundred and eighty.[3] Comparatively small lots were provided for, and with a few exceptions the streets were made rather narrow.

The plan adopted was for a city a little more than two miles long, from the Delaware River to the Schuylkill River, and little more than one mile wide from north to south from Vine Street to Cedar Street (or South, as it is now called). Two wide streets were laid out, High, now called Market Street, running east and west, and Broad Street, running north and south. At the crossing of these streets a ten acre lot was reserved for a "statehouse, market-house, school-house, and chief meeting-house for the Quakers." In each of the four quarters of the city there was an open square of eight acres.

Settlers at once sought homes within the limits of the new city, and some, while their houses were building, lived in caves dug in the banks which rose abruptly from the river.

[1] The provisions were doubtless suggested by the recent ravages, first of the plague (1665), and then of the great fire in London, 1666.

[2] Probably after the city in Asia Minor, mentioned in Rev. I:11. The meaning of the word is "brotherly love."

[3] This was the legal size of the city till 1854, when the boundaries were extended.

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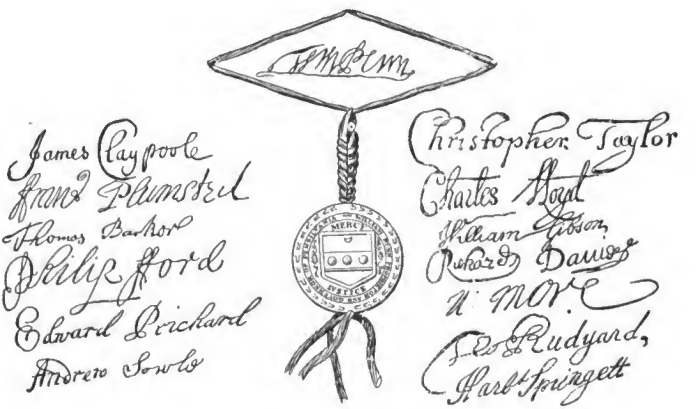
Penn's Frame of Government. — During the months which passed before his own journey to America, Penn occupied much time and thought in shaping a plan, or, as he called it, a "Frame of Government," for his province. In the composition of this document he sought the advice of Algernon



SEAL AND SIGNATURES TO THE FRAME OF GOVERNMENT

Sidney, the great English republican, and of his friend, Benjamin Furly of Rotterdam, but there can be no doubt that Penn is responsible for the essential features.[1] In the preface Penn states some general maxims or truths, which, as he always believed, lay at the very foundation of good government. Among them are these, "The end of government is first to terrify evil doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well." "Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." "Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good and the govern-

[1] This can be seen by comparing it with the New Jersey "Concessions."

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ment cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men are bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn." These principles Penn endeavored to carry out, but he was hindered, and sometimes thwarted, even by those from whom he had the right to look for better treatment.

Comparison with other Codes. — Only by comparison with the codes of law and plans of government of that day can it be understood how far William Penn was in advance of the law makers of his time. Without hesitation he abolished the punishment of death for all crimes except murder and treason, and there is no doubt that he would have excepted these had it been practicable. When it is remembered that there were about two hundred and forty crimes for which, at that time, the English law prescribed capital punishment, it will be seen what a change this was. He also provided that prisons should be workshops where not punishment, but reformation of the criminal was to be the chief object.[1] He knew from personal experience what schools of vice English jails were, and he determined that such should not exist in his province. "No oath was to be required in legal and official matters. Drinking healths, selling rum to the Indians, cursing and lying, fighting duels, playing cards, the pleasures of the theatre, were all put under the ban together."

Plan of Government. — His plan of government provided for a council of seventy-two persons,[2] in which the proprietary should have three votes but not a veto. This council

[1] All this was nearly a century before John Howard published his work, *State of the Prisons*. (1777).

[2] These were to serve for three years, one-third retiring each year and not eligible again till one year had passed.

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ROBERTS' MILL, GERMANTOWN, PA.

Built in 1691

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MORAVIAN MILL, MONOCACY CREEK, BETHLEHEM, PA.

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should originate all bills. There was also to be an assembly of two hundred members elected annually, which was to consider the bills passed by the council. The laws were to be carried out by the governor and council. This plan shows how little power Penn reserved to himself and his successors.[1] Besides this Penn provided for amendments, a provision entirely new in that day, but which has been inserted in perhaps all documents of the kind ever since.

Penn also prepared a code of laws to be passed upon in the province. The qualifications for voters were very liberal; every man who was a land-holder or who paid a tax was accounted a freeman. It was, however, provided that office holders and electors should be "such as profess faith in Jesus Christ"; also that "All persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry forever." Penn thus established the government of his province on a broad Christian foundation of justice, good will, and morality.

He also forbade various things which he believed would injure the community. He had already given explicit directions as to the treatment of the Indians and intercourse with

[1] This plan did not work well, for the assembly resented the provision that the council should originate all bills. In time the assembly insisted on equal powers, and later the council was shorn of its power of legislation. In 1696 the power of veto was given to the proprietor. The size of the houses was reduced to thirty-six for the assembly, and twelve for the council, which became simply an advisory board to the governor.

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them. All trade with them must be carried on in the open market, and any fraud must be punished. Anyone wronging an Indian was to be punished as if he had wronged a white man, and if any Indian committed a wrong the injured white man was to complain to the governor or magistrate, who should take up the case and confer with "the king of the said Indian." "That all differences between the planters and natives shall also be ended by twelve men, that is, six planters and six natives; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasion of heart-burnings and mischief." Penn did his best to carry out the principles thus laid down.

Boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland. — The question of the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, deferred on account of Markham's illness, was taken up in the spring of 1682, and in September, having secured a good surveying instrument from New York, observations were made at New Castle. These, no doubt to Markham's dismay, showed that the fortieth parallel of latitude was many miles north of New Castle, and that a circle of twelve miles radius, drawn from New Castle as a center, would not touch the fortieth parallel. "The fortieth degree was in fact so far north that if it should be the boundary Maryland would not only take in Upland, but would extend far upward in what claimed to be, and now is, Pennsylvania, and Penn's hold upon the bay, so much desired, would be lost. Even the site of the city at Coaquanock would fall to Lord Baltimore." Markham could say little except that the matter must be left until Penn's arrival. This was the beginning of the famous controversy which lasted nearly one hundred years, and which was not finally settled until 1767.

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CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM PENN IN PENNSYLVANIA

Penn Visits America; The "Welcome."—At last William Penn felt that he could visit his province. The *Welcome*, which was to take him across the sea, was for those days a large vessel, being three hundred tons burden. She carried one hundred emigrants, all from the well-to-do class, who were seeking to establish homes for themselves in the promised land of freedom and of plenty. At that time a voyage across the Atlantic was a serious matter, and those who embarked upon one literally took their lives in their hands. The length of the voyage varied from six to fifteen weeks, and the discomforts and sufferings endured under the best circumstances were such as would dismay a traveler of to-day. William Penn himself made his arrangements as if he were never to return, and in addition to his business directions, left an affectionate letter of wise counsel to his wife and children.

The *Welcome* sailed from Deal on the first of September, 1682. One of the passengers had come on board ill of smallpox, and before the ship reached her destination, nearly every man, woman, and child took the dread disease and thirty died. Penn was unremitting in his care of the suffering. He gave without stint of his stores, sat by the sick, gave medicine to those needing it, and spoke words of comfort and consolation to all.

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Penn reaches Pennsylvania, 1682. — On October 27, 1682, just nine weeks after leaving Deal, the *Welcome* anchored off New Castle. Young and old crowded to the landing place to see the great man, their governor. The next day, in the old Dutch fort, Penn took formal possession, after an ancient fashion: the Duke of York's two representatives gave him the key of the fort "to lock upon himself alone the door, which being opened by him again we did deliver also unto him one turf with a twig upon it, a porringer with river water, and soil."

The next day Penn reached Upland, and so on Sunday, the 29th of October, 1682, he first set foot upon the soil of Pennsylvania. The name of Upland was changed to Chester, and the place has since been known by that name.[1]

Penn reached Philadelphia on one of the last two or three days in October or early in November. Tradition says that he came up the river in an open boat and landed at the public landing place on Dock Creek, near the Blue Anchor Tavern, the first house built in Philadelphia.[2]

Penn's Personal Appearance. — William Penn was just thirty-eight years old, his birthday, October 14th, having been spent on the *Welcome*. He was in the early prime of his life, with a reputation already well established, the proprietor of a princely domain, and a man full of enthusiasm for the trial of the "Holy Experiment" which he had set before himself. He was "tall in stature and of an athletic make,

[1] The common statement that the name was changed at the instance of Robert Pearson, said to be one of Penn's fellow voyagers on the *Welcome*, who came from old Chester in England, is discredited by recent students. Indeed, it is very doubtful if any one named Pearson was on the *Welcome*.

[2] Dock Creek was completely covered in 1784 and the roadway over it has since been known as Dock Street.

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handsomely, though plainly dressed,[1] courteous in bearing, ready in speech, with a manner signifying energy, courage, and confidence of leadership, yet controlled and governed by motives of kindly good-will."

Philadelphia in 1682. — There was little appearance of a town when Penn landed. Though some streets were laid out there were very few houses and most of these were on the waterside. There were doubtless some houses near where the "Old Swedes' Church" stands; and at Shackamaxon (Kensington) also, but the site of the city as a whole was mostly covered with woods. Probably the strangest sight which met the eyes of Penn were the caves in the Delaware river bank, in which numbers of immigrants were living while their log-cabin homes were being built. One of these caves was the birthplace of John Key, the first child born after Philadelphia was laid out.[2]

WILLIAM PENN STATUE
Philadelphia City Hall Tower

As a result of Penn's connection with the Quakers and the wide circulation of the pamphlets describing the new colony,

[1] William Penn's dress was that usually worn by gentlemen of the time, but without the lace and trimmings which were common; and he wore no sword. What is called the Quaker "plain dress" was unknown in Penn's day.

[2] William Penn, in recognition of this fact, gave the child a lot on Sassafras (Race) St. between 4th and 5th Sts. Key lived to be eighty-two.

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about two thousand immigrants[1] landed in Pennsylvania during 1682. They made desirable citizens; most of them were comfortably off, and brought with them tools, household goods, building materials, and stores of various kinds. They had little to fear from the Indians, and food was abundant.

Lands; Laws; Boundaries. — Penn found many things to do, for all sorts of questions had to be settled. Those regarding land claims were exceedingly difficult. He visited New York, in order, as he says, "That I might pay my duty to the Duke in the visit of his government and Colony." He had already called a general assembly of the colonists of Pennsylvania and Delaware to meet at Chester in December (1682). This was the first popular legislative body held on the Delaware, and was what would be called now a constitutional convention. This assembly ratified, with little change, the body of laws Penn had drawn up in England. Among other matters the "three lower counties" (Delaware) were formally annexed to Pennsylvania, and all foreigners were made citizens. The three counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester had already been laid out.[2]

The next matter which claimed Penn's attention was the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and on account of this, as well as to show courtesy, he visited Lord Baltimore at West River, Maryland. Though the two proprietors were very courteous to each other, nothing was accomplished. Penn showed a letter from the king directing Baltimore to accept two degrees of latitude of sixty miles each,

[1] Three thousand has been given as the number, but careful students believe that two thousand is nearer the fact.

[2] Philadelphia County at that time embraced what is now Montgomery County, and Chester County the present Chester and Delaware Counties.

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measured north from Watkins Point.[1] Baltimore, however, replied that no letter could make void his patent, and by this he would stand.

Penn and the Indians: Treaties. — Meanwhile William Penn had not neglected the Indians, though records speak of

PENNSYLVANIA, WEST NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND MARYLAND IN 1689

no formal treaties with them until 1683. The common story tells of a great treaty at Shackamaxon in 1682. There is little doubt that a truthful picture of the method in which treaties were made with the Indians is given by this tradition, which tells us that Penn and his friends met the Indians under

[1] Watkins Point the southernmost point of Maryland.

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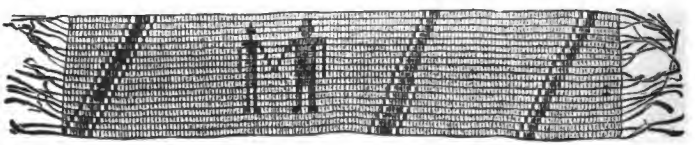
the widely spreading branches of an ancient elm [1] at Shackamaxon (Kensington). Penn had neither sword, nor scepter, nor crown, but was distinguished by the sign of his office, a skyblue sash tied round his waist. Before him were carried various articles to be given to the Indians, and in his hand was a roll of parchment on which was written the treaty to be ratified. Penn spoke of the kindly feelings that he entertained toward the Indians, and his desire to do them justice;



BELT OF WAMPUM GIVEN TO PENN

and he explained the provisions of his code of laws regarding intercourse between the whites and themselves. The chief sachem, in his turn, took Penn by the hand, pledging kindness and saying that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light, and a belt of wampum with figures of two men clasping hands was given to Penn. Such is an outline of the story which gave rise to the oft-quoted remark of Voltaire that "it was the only treaty between those natives and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken." The story has also been preserved in Benjamin West's picture of "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," [2]

[1] The elm was blown down in 1810 and was found by the rings of growth to be 283 years old. A simple monument marks the site.

[2] West's representation is by no means accurate. He pictures Penn as a portly, middle-aged man, whereas, as has been seen, he was only thirty-eight, and athletic; and West makes his dress that of the style of seventy years later. The statue on the top of City Hall, Philadelphia, represents Penn as he is supposed to have looked at the time of the treaty. The belt of wampum is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

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PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

After the painting by Benjamin West

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WILLIAM PENN

From a cast of the miniature ivory bust by Silvanus Bevan

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a familiar illustration. Whether the story be true or not regarding a special treaty, it represents faithfully the spirit in which Penn carried on all his intercourse with the natives. During his life no Quaker blood was shed by an Indian, and Penn's memory was long cherished among the natives as that of a benefactor.

Purchases of Lands from the Indians. — In the summer of 1683 many tracts of land were bought from the Indians which together included most of the three counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester. The limits of these purchases were indefinite; such as "to run two days' journey with an horse up into the country as said river doth go." Land was so plenty that a few acres, or even considerable tracts, more or less, made little difference. There was room in this method for a great amount of fraud, as was afterwards abundantly shown, but in these early days with Penn's just and liberal treatment there was no reason for trouble. All these purchases were paid for in the usual manner at that time, with guns, axes, hoes, knives, needles, blankets, kettles, scissors, gimlets, fish hooks, powder, lead, and other articles valued by the Indians. These things seem trifling to us, but to the Indian they were most desirable, and there is every reason to suppose in Pennsylvania at least, that the Indian was satisfied that he was receiving a full equivalent for the land he sold.[1]

In many cases in colonial history the Indians had been grossly cheated and had been made drunk at the times of

[1] As a matter of fact an Indian title was worth nothing in the eye of the law. The Indian was, according to the European law, simply an occupier, the crown owned the lands, and the power to give titles was vested in the crown or in those delegated by the crown. To buy from the Indian was the recognition of a moral right, and its only value was a possible protection against other Indians.

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negotiations, but so sure were the Indians of Penn's honesty and justice that one chief, the Tammany of tradition, sold a tract of land for "so much wampum, so many guns . . . and other goods as the said William Penn shall please to give

LETITIA COTTAGE, PENN'S CITY RESIDENCE

Parts of it were prepared in England and shipped to Philadelphia

unto me." Penn was so much impressed with the injurious effects of rum upon the natives that it was not used as an article of trade with them after his arrival, and a law prohibiting the sale of rum to the Indians was passed.[1]

The fair and friendly treatment of the Indians was appreciated by them, and for seventy-three years the borders of Pennsylvania were free from attacks of Indians. More than that, a profitable trade was carried on with them.

The Letitia House; Education. — Some time in 1683 William Penn took up his residence in the modest brick house

[1] Owing mainly to the greed of the traders the law was difficult to enforce.

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which he had built for himself on the square between Front and Second, Market and Chestnut streets. He afterwards gave it to his daughter Letitia, and it has since been known as the "Letitia House." It is said to have been the first house in Philadelphia which had a cellar. This house, in excellent preservation, now stands in Fairmount Park, having been removed there in 1883.

One of the earliest matters which claimed attention was that of education. Under date of December 26, 1683, a minute of the Council reads, "The Governor and Provincial Council having taken into their serious consideration the great necessity there is of a School Master for the instruction and sober education of youth in the town of Philadelphia, sent for Enoch Flower an inhabitant of the said town who for twenty years past hath been exercised in that care and employment in England." Enoch Flower was forthwith engaged, and the school was started.[1]

The Early Immigrants. — Penn wrote in the summer of 1683 that "fifty sail of ships and small vessels" had arrived within the year. The immigrants were chiefly English Quakers, though there were some Welsh and Irish among them. But during the succeeding years large numbers came not only from Great Britain and Ireland, but also Germans from the Palatinate (South Germany), who had become acquainted with Penn's colony through the German pamphlets circulated by Benjamin Furly or who had made the acquaintance of Penn when he traveled in Germany, in 1677. Some French Huguenots also came.

[1] His terms were, "To learn to read English 4 shillings by the quarter, to learn to read and write 6 shillings by the quarter, to read, write, and cast accounts 8 shillings by the quarter; for boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, washing, lodging and schooling, ten pounds for one whole year."

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The chief stimulus for this emigration was religious persecution. In Wales the Friends suffered imprisonment and fines for not conforming to the established church; in France the government of Louis XIV was hostile to Protestantism; in Southern Germany, the ravages of the Thirty Years' War had been continued during the wars of Louis XIV. In addition, many of the non-resisting Mennonites, whose teaching in regard to peace, as well as on other points, resembled that of the Quakers, had suffered severe persecution. No wonder that the promise of political and religious freedom in a land of plenty attracted these sufferers.

The Welsh. — The Welsh colonists were for the most part Quakers and wished, so far as possible, to carry their language, their customs, and their institutions to their new home, to settle as a community by themselves. They secured from Penn a large tract of land on the west side of the Schuylkill River, which came to be known as the "Welsh Tract" or "Barony." The names of the towns, townships and villages — Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Uwchlan, Gwynedd, and others — still preserve the memory of this settlement. These Welshmen resented the coming of other settlers, but finally accepted the situation willingly, and gave up the attempt to continue a separate community.

Seal of David Lloyd

Many of the prominent men of the early days were Welshmen, such as Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, Owen Jones, Thomas Wynne, and others. The best known and most influential was Thomas Lloyd, the younger son of a good family and a graduate of Oxford. He with his wife and eight children

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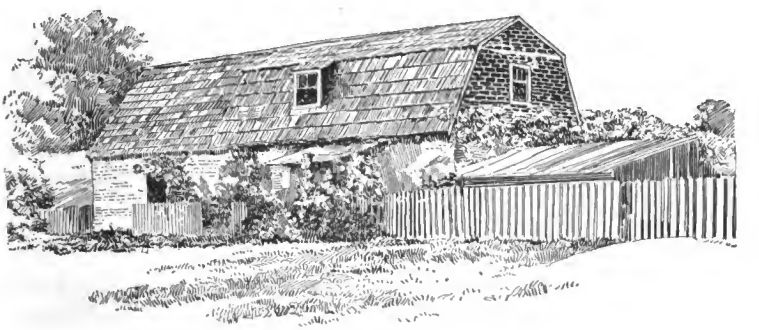
came to Pennsylvania. His ability and his education were soon recognized and for eleven years he was one of the most active and prominent men in the colony, being president of the council and acting governor for various periods. "He died in 1694 having been for nearly eight years out of the eleven the highest officer of the province."

The Germans; Pastorius. — The first Germans who came were Friends, but afterwards Mennonites and others came. A



CALEB PUSEY HOUSE, NEAR CHESTER
The oldest building in Pennsylvania, having been erected in 1683

small band of Germans was in the vessel with Thomas Lloyd in 1683. Their leader, Francis Daniel Pastorius, was like Lloyd, a highly educated man.[1] The two became intimate friends on the voyage, and, Pastorius tells us, conversed with each other in Latin.[2] Pastorius became very influential in the colony, and for thirty-six years was a prominent citizen.

[1] He had studied two years at the University of Strassburg, and had also studied law at Basle and at Jena. He is the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" of Whittier's poem.

[2] Pastorius, though he knew English, could not then speak it fluently. He says:

"Alone with him I could in Latin then commune
Which tongue he did pronounce right, in our German way."

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For the first few months after his arrival Pastorius lived in one of the caves in Philadelphia, which he thus describes, "The caves of that time were only holes digged in the ground covered with earth a matter of five or six feet deep, ten or twelve wide, and about twenty long, whereof neither the sides nor the floors have been planked." He was actively employed in superintending the laying out of the village known as Germantown,[1] since 1854 a part of Philadelphia.

These Germans were mostly weavers, and they at once began to raise flax and weave linen. Later (1690) a German immigrant, William Rittinghuysen (Rittenhouse), built the first paper mill in America on a creek near the Wissahickon. The German colony grew steadily, and in 1689 Penn granted a charter incorporating the town by the name of "the Bailiff, Burgesses, and Commonalty of German Towne." In this document Pastorius was designated as bailiff.

The Germans were fully as great lovers of liberty as the English and Welsh Quakers, and Pastorius was doubtless the originator of the first petition against slavery in America. Signed by Pastorius and other German Friends it was presented to the Quaker Meetings in 1688, but not acted upon.

Penn Returns to England, 1684. — Everything was prosperous. In February, 1684, Penn wrote: "Our capital town is advanced to about one hundred and fifty very tolerable houses for wooden ones; they are chiefly on both the navigable rivers and bound the ends or sides of the town. The farmers have got their winter corn (wheat) in the ground. I suppose we may be five hundred farmers strong. . . . Germans, Dutch and French are concerned in our prosperity with their own." Had it not been for the boundary question,

[1] This was part of a large tract which Pastorius had bought as agent of the Frankfort Land Company.

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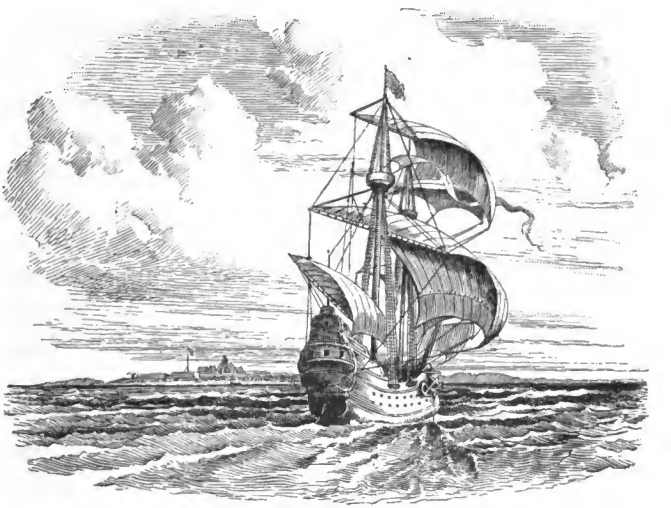
Penn would doubtless have remained longer in his province. But Lord Baltimore had no idea of giving up his claims, and had not only invaded what Penn held was part of Pennsylvania, but had himself gone to England to press his claims on the government. There was nothing left for Penn but to



A Seventeenth Century Ship

return to England to protect his own rights. He sailed in the *Endeavor* on the 12th of August, 1684, leaving the affairs of his colony in the hands of Thomas Lloyd. As Lloyd was the president of the council and the holder of the great seal, he became the most influential man in the province, for laws were of no effect unless sealed with the great seal.

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CHAPTER V

PENNSYLVANIA UNDER DEPUTY GOVERNORS
PENN IN ENGLAND

Penn under Public Suspicion. — The *Endeavor* reached England safely and Penn tells us, "I arrived from America on the 6th of October, at Wonder in Sussex, being within seven miles of my own house." He was soon in the midst of his family whom he had not seen for two years. Penn expected to return to Pennsylvania after a short stay in England, but it was fifteen years before he was able to fulfill his desire. A few months after Penn reached England Charles II died, and his brother, James, Duke of York, succeeded to the throne.

The boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore so far as it related to the three Lower Counties (Delaware) was soon settled by the English authorities. The disputed territory was divided by a north and south line half way between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

James II openly professed Catholicism and by his ill-advised course of conduct brought about the English Revolution of 1688, by which the English crown was given to William and Mary. Naturally all the former friends of King James came under suspicion. Among these was William Penn. One of the chief causes of his remaining in England was that he might intercede for his Quaker brethren at court, where he had great influence. Now that James II was in exile, Penn suffered for his personal friendship with him.

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He was accused of being a Jacobite,[1] a Jesuit, and a Catholic in disguise. He was brought before the lords of the council in 1688, but he disclaimed any disloyalty. He was required to give bail, but when his case came up for trial no charges were made and he was cleared in open court. He was arrested again in 1690 on account of a letter the exiled king had sent him. This time he was brought before King William himself. Penn did not deny his friendship for James, but said that he must "observe due duty to the state which belonged to all the subjects of it." The king would have discharged him, but some of the council objecting, he was released on bail, and when the case came up he was again cleared.

But his troubles were not over. King William being in Ireland, Queen Mary, as a precaution, ordered the arrest of eighteen persons supposed to be opposed to the government. Among these was Penn. When the trial came up there was no evidence against him and he was discharged.

Penn in Retirement. — Penn now issued proposals for a second settlement in Pennsylvania and was almost ready to return to his province when on account of a fresh accusation brought against him, by one afterwards acknowledged to be "a cheat and a notorious impostor," a warrant was issued for his arrest. Penn was in a dilemma. If he left England under suspicion, it would be held by many to be a confession of guilt, while if he allowed himself to be taken, though an innocent man, he might be condemned by the false oath of his accuser. It seemed best to remain in England and live in seclusion. That the government did not put much faith in the charges is shown by the fact that no effort was made to find him. Penn spent much of his leisure in

[1] The name given to the supporters of James.

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writing. Two of the most interesting works written at this time are his *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, in which he suggests a plan something like the Hague Court of Arbitration of to-day; and his *Fruits of Solitude*, a book of beautiful thoughts and reflections, which has been issued in many editions and is still widely read.

Political Affairs in Pennsylvania; Governor Blackwell. — Meantime affairs in Pennsylvania had not been going on smoothly. The assembly, or popular branch of the legislature, resented its inability to originate laws, and made use of its right of approval or disapproval to cause much trouble. It even threatened to refuse assent to all laws unless its power was increased. It also would not provide for the expenses of government, thus throwing heavy expenses upon Penn. In 1685 it impeached Judge Nicholas More, its former speaker, but no serious offenses could be shown. The caves in the Delaware River bank left by the original occupants when their houses were ready, had been taken by some dissolute persons who had come into the colony, and these caused much scandal by their riotous living and drunkenness. Penn heard of this and directed that the occupiers should be required to get other dwelling places. This was done and the caves destroyed.

These and other troubles, often petty, but greatly magnified when the reports reached England, were the source of much concern to Penn, and also of injury to the colony, for they tended to create an impression that conditions were much worse than they really were and that Penn's colony was likely to prove a failure. Penn, therefore, made changes in the plan of government. He vested the executive power in a committee of five instead of the whole council. Then, believing that Thomas Lloyd was too easy, he appointed

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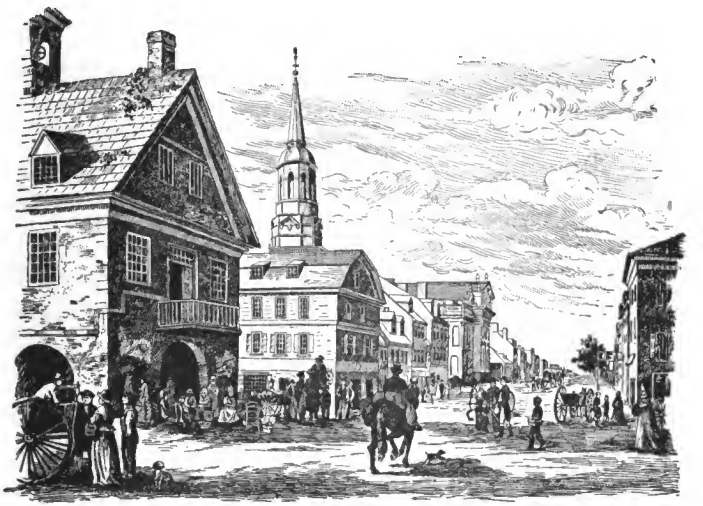
Captain John Blackwell, an old Parliamentary soldier, as deputy governor. It was a singular choice for Penn to make, and the appointment illustrates a weak side of his character, — his inability to judge men. This weakness



THE FIRST TOWN HALL AND COURT HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA

of character brought upon Penn not only great pecuniary loss, anxiety, and suffering, but also seriously injured his reputation.

Blackwell came out in 1688. His want of tact, and ignorance of Quaker ways, were such as to cause continual irritation. These troubles were aggravated by the fact that Thomas Lloyd held the great seal, and refused either to affix the seal to documents, or, when absent, to give it to the governor to hold. The Quakers naturally took Lloyd's part, while the inhabitants of the "lower counties" sided with Blackwell. After about a year Penn removed Blackwell.

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Penn Modifies the Plan of Government. — Penn showed his genuine wish for peace and good will by giving the colonists the choice of making the council act as the deputy governor, with ability to choose its president; or, of allowing the council to nominate three or five persons from whom he would appoint one as deputy governor. As the council by this time was chosen by the people, this was really democratic government. The former plan was adopted and Thomas Lloyd was chosen president.

Trial of Peace Principles. — The first trial of the Quakers' peace principles came during Blackwell's administration. In November, 1689, he presented to the council a letter from the British Government giving notice that his Majesty (William III) had ordered "all necessary preparation for a speedy war with the French king," so that due preparation ought to be taken in Pennsylvania. At once a great quarrel arose; the Quaker members declared they would have nothing to do with warlike measures. No action was taken, and fortunately the danger from the French passed away with the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

Unrest in "Lower Counties." — Though the inhabitants of the three "Lower Counties" had gladly come under Penn's rule, they had little sympathy with Quaker principles, and soon found that the Pennsylvanians would be in a majority, and so control affairs. There was so much trouble that Penn in 1691 made Thomas Lloyd his deputy for Pennsylvania and William Markham his deputy for the "Lower Counties." As Markham was not a Friend he was much more acceptable to the people of these counties.

Education; The Keith Troubles. — Education was not neglected. Need was found for a better school than that of Enoch Flower, and in 1689 a "school" was established

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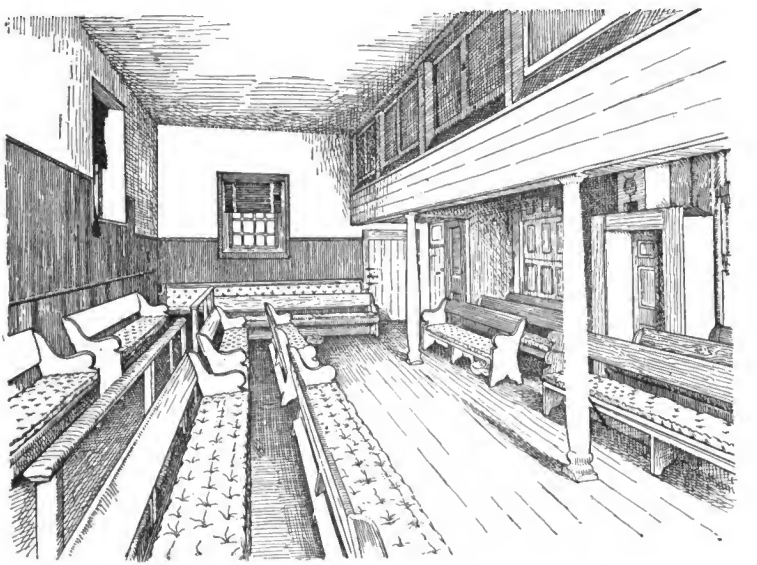
with George Keith for master. This school was chartered by William Penn in 1701, 1708, and in 1711, and still exists as "The William Penn Charter School."

The troubles of the colony had been chiefly political, but now came those of another kind. George Keith,[1] the head-



INTERIOR OF WILLIAM PENN MEETING HOUSE NEAR NARBERTH

master of the school, began to attack the doctrines and practices of the Friends. He had a considerable following, including some prominent Friends. The large majority of the Friends, including Thomas Lloyd, answered his charges,

[1] Keith was a well educated Scotsman; he joined the Friends, had defended them ably, and had suffered his share of imprisonment for his belief. He had been a companion of George Fox and William Penn in the tour of Germany in 1677; and had come to New Jersey in 1684; had been Surveyor General of East Jersey and had run the line between East and West Jersey. He came to Philadelphia in 1689.

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recited some of his own disorderly conduct, and disowned him from membership. The case was taken to the Friends' Yearly Meeting in Burlington, New Jersey, which confirmed this action. Keith, in 1693, carried his case to the Yearly Meeting in London, where the action taken in America was confirmed in 1694.[1]

The Keith and Bradford Libel Case. — The incident is of public interest because the great principle of freedom of the press became involved. In the course of the controversy, Keith wrote pamphlets in which the Quakers, some of whom were magistrates, were vigorously attacked. These tracts were printed by William Bradford. Both he and Keith were indicted for writing and printing malicious and seditious pamphlets. At the trial, for the first time, it was left to the jury to decide the whole question at issue. This was an important step towards establishing the freedom of the press. The jury disagreed and the trial failed. Keith soon after went to London to carry his appeal as above, and William Bradford went to New York, and for six years no printing was done in Pennsylvania.[2]

The Province Taken from Penn, 1692. — Meantime Penn's enemies in England were active. They made the charge that the conditions of affairs in Pennsylvania, and the refusal to contribute funds for military defence, indicated not only

[1] After Keith's repudiation in London, some of his followers rejoined the Friends, others joined other denominations. Keith himself became an Episcopalian (1700), was ordained a minister, and coming back to America tried unsuccessfully to win his former Quaker associates. He died in England in 1716.

[2] William Bradford came from London in 1685, bringing his press and type with him, and bearing a letter of introduction from George Fox. He was expected to do his work under those in authority, for all printing had to be licensed in those days. He was an excellent printer, and his work is highly valued by collectors.

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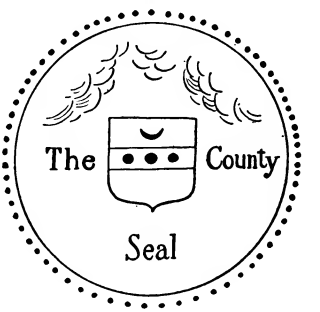
anarchy but also a state of affairs which would make Pennsylvania an easy conquest for the French of Canada. It should be remembered that England was in continual fear of hostilities with France. Early in March, 1692, an Order in Council deprived Penn of the province, with the intention of joining it to New York. So far as King William was concerned the question seems to have been decided on military grounds alone. Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York, was appointed governor of New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the two Jerseys and Connecticut. Fletcher was simply a soldier, abrupt and coarse, but with more tact than Blackwell.



EARLY SEAL OF BUCKS COUNTY

Penn's Difficulties. — Penn's fortunes were at a low ebb. He was in seclusion, he was slandered and maligned, he was in financial straits, for he had expended large sums on his province, the ungrateful colonists would not pay his legal quit-rents, and his Irish estates were held by the government. He had been compelled to raise funds by selling timber from his Worminghurst estate in England. Still his courage did not fail. He wrote to Fletcher, warning him to be careful as the charter of Pennsylvania had not been attacked or recalled, and that he would maintain his rights. He also wrote to his colonists advising them to insist quietly but firmly on their charters, and to obey all legal requirements.

Pennsylvania under Fletcher. — Fletcher came to Philadelphia from New York in 1693 and soon made it clear that he cared little for the laws and charter of Pennsylvania. He

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disregarded the separation of the province and "Lower Counties," changed the number of legislators, deprived the council of the privilege of originating laws, and made many other alterations. His first requirement from the Assembly was a contribution to help New York against the French of Canada. To Fletcher's demands the assembly replied with a request that the old laws should be restored to them. Fletcher replied that "His Majesty's government and that of Mr. Penn are in direct opposition the one to the other," and begged them to comply with his request. Again the Assembly asked for the confirmation of their old laws, which was at first declined. After some time Fletcher yielded and confirmed the laws, the Assembly passed a number of bills, and Fletcher returned to New York. He met the Assembly again in the spring of 1694, but without result. This was his last personal appearance in Philadelphia. The Assembly had held its own in all essential points and had gained some privileges, especially that of originating bills.

Pennsylvania Restored to Penn, 1694. — Meanwhile Penn's affairs had improved. Through the intercession of some of his friends at court Pennsylvania was restored to him by a patent signed by William and Mary, August, 1694. He had agreed "to transmit to the council and assembly there [Pennsylvania] all such orders as shall be given by her Majesty in that behalf [the safety and security of the province]; and he doubts not but that they will at all times dutifully comply with and yield obedience thereunto and to all such orders and directions as their Majesties shall from time to time think fit to send for the supplying such quota of men or the defraying their part of such charges as their Majesties shall think necessary for the safety and preservation of her Majesty's dominions in that part of America." This looks as if Penn were

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deserting his Quaker peace principles, but probably he was satisfied that he could recover his province only by some such declaration of loyalty to the British government. Both he and the government knew that the final responsibility lay with the colonists. Penn, moreover, was always a believer in maintaining good order in the state.

Markham Governor; New Frame of Government, 1696. — Penn now appointed William Markham deputy governor, as Thomas Lloyd had died (1694). Markham, like his predecessors, found the Assembly very intractable and soon dissolved it. It met again in 1696, and demanded a new set of laws, or a constitution. To this demand Markham agreed, the Assembly granted supplies, and a new Frame of Government was drawn up.

This document was more democratic and liberal than the old. The council was composed of two members elected every two years from each of the six counties, which, by this time, had been established. The Assembly consisted of four representatives from each county elected annually.[1] If results decide a question, Markham's course was wise, for the province prospered. Something, however, must be attributed to Markham's personal influence, for he had been in the colony from the first, and thoroughly knew the people and existing conditions.

Criminals and Pirates. — The peaceable character of the province, the absence of an armed force, and the comparatively light penalties inflicted for crime, led not only good and quiet persons to seek the colony, but also many of the criminal class. Privateers, common in those days, also found in Delaware Bay a place of refuge where it was not likely that

[1] Penn never formally sanctioned this constitution, though he did not oppose it.

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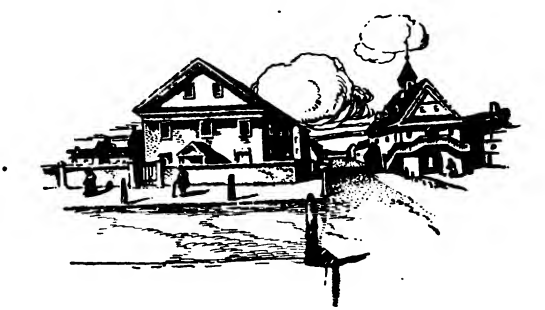
they would be molested by the authorities. On one occasion they attacked and plundered the little town of Lewes, and they also robbed the inhabitants along the Bay and River. Some of the colonists, and Markham in particular, were charged with being paid by the pirates for conniving at these acts. The latter indignantly repudiated the charge, for which, so far as appears, no proof was brought forward. Penn had to appear before the Board of Trade in England to answer these charges. While Penn did not believe in Markham's guilt, he was ordered to dismiss him. This he did by returning to Pennsylvania (1699) and taking the government upon himself.



OLD QUAKER MEETING HOUSE

Erected in 1695, at the corner of Second and Market Streets, Philadelphia; pulled down in 1755, and a larger meeting house erected on the same site. This second building was itself pulled down in 1812. The building at the right, in the middle of the street, is the court house.

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CHAPTER VI

PENN'S SECOND VISIT TO PENNSYLVANIA

Penn Leaves England, 1699; James Logan. — On the 9th of September, 1699, Penn set sail in the ship *Canterbury* from Cowes in the Isle of Wight, accompanied by his wife [1] and his daughter Letitia. Among his fellow travelers was James Logan, a young man of twenty-five, whom he had appointed as his secretary. Logan was the son of Scotch parents who had moved to Lurgan, Ireland, where their son was born. For fifty years Logan was prominent in all the affairs of the colony, for he was "secretary, then agent of the Penn family, commissioner of property, chief justice, two years acting governor, and, most of the time a member of the governor's council." His father had been a schoolmaster and James Logan had been well educated.[2] He collected one of the largest and best libraries of colonial days, which, nearly intact, now forms part of the Philadelphia Library.

Penn Reaches Philadelphia, 1699. — The voyage was long and it was not until December 3, that the ship reached Philadelphia. Penn found the city just recovering from a visitation of the yellow fever, which had carried off many of the

[1] Penn had married in the spring of 1696, Hannah Callowhill, the daughter of a rich Quaker merchant of Bristol, England. She was an excellent helpmeet. Her name is preserved in Callowhill Street, Philadelphia.

[2] Logan in one place speaks of his having attained a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew before he was thirteen years of age, and also that in his sixteenth year, having met with a book of Laybourn's on mathematics he made himself master of that science without any instruction.

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inhabitants and had cast a gloom over the community. Penn and his family lodged for about a month with Edward Shippen, who had been speaker of the Assembly and was later the first mayor of Philadelphia.[1]

From Shippen's house he went to the "slate roof house," [2] also on Second Street. Here he remained some time and here his son John was born.[3]

Pennsbury. — Penn expected to remain permanently in his province, and so one of the first things that he did was to prepare to reside in his handsome residence at his manor of Pennsbury on the Delaware River four miles above Bristol. The manor consisted of about six thousand acres, mostly covered with trees. The manor house had been erected in 1682–1683, and had cost the large sum of £5000. It was about sixty feet long, two stories in height, was built of brick, and had a tile roof, on which there was a reservoir for water. There was a large hall which Penn used for audiences with the Indians and for state entertainments.[4]

The furniture was rich and handsome. The house which faced the river was surrounded by gardens and flower beds and by lawns planted with a great variety of trees and shrubbery. There were stables, a bakery, brewery, kitchen, larder,

[1] Shippen's house had been built in 1697 on Second Street near Dock. It was a fine mansion, surrounded by orchards and gardens. Edward Shippen was described as having "the biggest person, the biggest house, and the biggest coach."

[2] This house had been recently built by Samuel Carpenter, the merchant prince of early Philadelphia. It was torn down in 1868.

[3] He was the eldest child of Hannah Callowhill and the only one of Penn's children born in America. From this fact he is known as "the American."

[4] After Penn left Pennsylvania for the last time in 1701, the mansion was neglected, the reservoir on the roof leaked, the water injured the walls and the furniture, so that the whole building fell into decay. It was taken down just before the Revolution and now scarcely a trace of the grand mansion remains.

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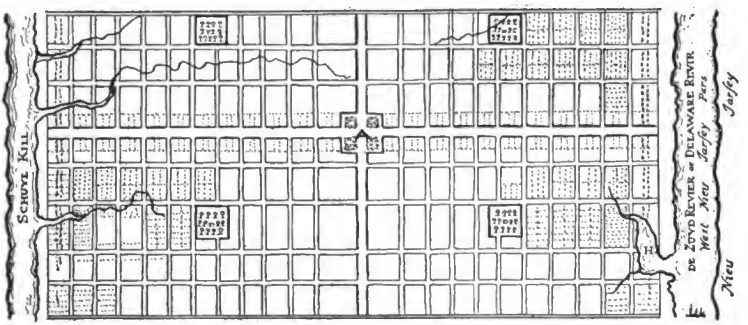
and washhouse. For the river there was a handsome barge with a mast and probably six oars. Penn preferred to travel in this to the city rather than in his coach. In all respects he lived in a style befitting his position.

He made frequent trips on horseback, and in this way visited New York and Maryland. He frequently met with the Indians and often entertained them hospitably at Pennsbury.



WILLIAM PENN'S PLAN FOR PHILADELPHIA

Penn and Legislation. — Penn's attention was closely occupied with civil and political matters. In response to the wishes of the authorities in England, laws were passed against illicit trade and for the suppression of the pirates in the Delaware. He also had to transmit to the Council and Assembly a request from the British Government for £350 to pay for the erection of forts on the New York frontier. It was an embarrassing position for Penn. On the one hand he could not well refuse to obey the king, while on the other he could not as a man of peace urge such an appropriation. He therefore simply presented the letter and put the responsibility upon the legislature. After some time, the Assembly made two replies, the representatives from Pennsylvania

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excusing themselves from making an appropriation on account of other taxes, while expressing a willingness to serve the king "as far as their religious persuasions would permit." Those from the "lower counties" asked to be excused from "contributing to forts abroad while they were unable to build any for their own defence at home." Though Penn brought the matter up at the next meeting of the Assembly nothing was done.

The one hundred laws enacted during Penn's stay covered subjects of every kind, such as forbidding the purchase of lands from the Indians without the consent of the proprietary, naturalization, opening of roads and building of bridges, scolding, dueling, indentured servants, and a quarantine act.

"Charter of Privileges," 1701. — In 1701 Penn received information that a serious effort was being made in England to annex all proprietary governments to the crown, and that his personal presence was needed to ward off the danger. This compelled his return to England to defend his interests. Before he sailed, the most important act of his stay was accomplished. This was the granting of a new constitution. Penn called the Assembly together, told the members of his approaching departure, and asked them to review their laws and propose new ones that might better their circumstances. In five days they presented twenty-one articles for his consideration. Though Penn was somewhat hurt at certain of the demands, he granted most of the requests. A new constitution or "Charter of Privileges," as it was called, was agreed upon and signed September 28, 1701, by William Penn, his council and the speaker of the Assembly.[1]

[1] Those signing were Edward Shippen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Caleb Pusey, Thomas Story, and Joseph Growdon, Speaker of the Assembly.

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This charter closely resembled that of 1682, but was more liberal and more democratic. The greatest changes were in regard to the legislature. An Assembly was provided for, to consist of four representatives from each county, elected annually "upon the first day of October forever. Which Assembly shall have the power to choose a speaker and their other officers; and shall be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members; sit upon their own adjournments; appoint committees; propose bills in order to pass laws, . . . and shall have all other powers and privileges of an assembly according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's Plantations in America." The members of the council were given no part in legislation and were to be appointed by the governor. The council became an advisory board to the governor, having some executive duties, and was in some cases a court of appeal. It usually consisted of able men and its influence often was very great.

Provision was also made for the separation of the "three lower counties," if desired. The separation was effected in 1702, and from this time until the Revolution, though having the same governor, the two colonies had separate assemblies.

By this "Charter of Privileges" Pennsylvania, except as to her governor and the slight connection with the crown, became a real democracy with an independent legislature of one house. Under this constitution Pennsylvania flourished for seventy-five years; it became the basis of the State Constitution of 1776 and of all other subsequent constitutions.[1]

[1] Penn, as in the Charter of 1682, provided for religious equality, except as regarding office holders, who must be Christians. The English Toleration Act excluded Catholics from office, and in a short time this Act was extended to all colonies. To Penn's indignation the Pennsylvania officials subscribed to

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Charter of Philadelphia, 1701. — Another important measure was a charter of the city of Philadelphia. This was granted on the 25th of October, 1701,[1] just before Penn left. This charter resembled those of the Middle Ages. The aldermen and common councilmen were appointed for life and filled any vacancies which might occur in their number. The mayor was chosen annually from the aldermen by at least five of the aldermen and nine of the councilmen. Penn appointed Edward Shippen, mayor, Thomas Story, recorder, eight aldermen and twelve councilmen. This charter was in force until 1776, the time of the Revolution.[2]

Results of Penn's Visit. — During his stay of less than two years Penn had accomplished much. He had put an end to disorder, he had softened party feeling, he had approved judicious laws, he had granted a liberal charter, had incorporated Philadelphia, had arranged for a peaceful separation of the "three lower counties," and had also held many meetings with the Indians and cemented the bonds of good feeling.

Penn and his family sailed on the 2d of November (1701) in the *Dolmahoy*, and arrived at Portsmouth in thirty days after leaving the Capes of the Delaware.

Penn in England; The Fords; Penn in Debtors' Prison. — He returned to a difficult and trying situation. The attempt to supersede the proprietary governments failed but the project was not abandoned. Penn's personal affairs, however, gave him the greatest anxiety and trouble. He had inherited from his father a large property, the greater part of which

this Act, and in 1705 the Assembly reënacted the test. So, in spite of the provisions of the Charter, Catholics, Jews, and unbelievers were excluded from office until the Revolution.

[1] A charter duly signed and dated in 1691, was found in 1887, but as no records exist of its operation, it could have been in force only for a short time.

[2] From 1776 to 1790 the city was without a charter.

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was in Ireland. Owing to the wars and the turmoil in Ireland after the revolution of 1688, the income from his Irish estates was greatly diminished. His Pennsylvania enterprise had been very expensive, costing him over £50,000, from which investment he had received but little return. Many of the colonists resisted the system of quit-rents and would not pay, and others had little money. The only surviving son of his first marriage, William Penn, Jr., was a spendthrift and a depraved man, costing his father much. Above all, the steward of his Irish estates, Philip Ford, had cheated him out of thousands of pounds, claiming that he had expended large sums for Penn's benefit. Penn at that time having perfect confidence in Ford, signed deeds and papers, giving as security large tracts of land in Pennsylvania. With compound interest and more frauds the account grew so that in 1699 Ford put in a claim for £7,000, and Penn privately conveyed the whole of Pennsylvania to him as security for the debt. On Penn's return, as was customary among the Quakers, he laid the case before the Friends' Meeting, asking for a settlement by arbitration, which the Fords[1] refused. A long legal contest followed. Penn's friends now took up the case and brought in charges of fraud, and on the advice of his friends Penn refused all payment and went to the debtors' prison. After he had remained there about a year, the Fords were compelled to compromise. They agreed to accept half of their claim of £14,000, which amount was raised by Penn's friends on security of future receipts from Pennsylvania, and Penn was at last released.

[1] Mrs. Ford and her son, for Philip Ford had died.

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CHAPTER VII

PENNSYLVANIA IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
WILLIAM PENN

Pennsylvania in 1701. — At the time of William Penn's second visit the colony had been in existence about eighteen years. Notwithstanding many drawbacks the condition of affairs was flourishing.

The population was about 17,000, mostly English and Welsh, with some Germans and Swedes, but the Quakers were still in the majority. About one half of the inhabitants lived in Philadelphia. Trade was good and there was considerable commerce between Philadelphia and England, the vessels often going by way of the West Indies to increase the opportunity for trade. The farmers were prosperous. Philadelphia was built up as far as Fifth or Sixth Street, and extended along the river north and south. Most of the houses were built of brick, and with its regularly laid-out streets Philadelphia presented an attractive appearance. There were practically no public buildings, and the Assembly sat in Friends' meeting houses or wherever accommodation could be secured, even "ale houses" being occasionally made use of.

The great lack of the colony was ready money. Nearly all transactions were settled in produce; wheat, corn, tobacco, and other articles taking the place of coin. There was as yet no paper money.

Though Penn had offered the Council and Assembly the privilege of choosing the deputy governor, they did not accept,

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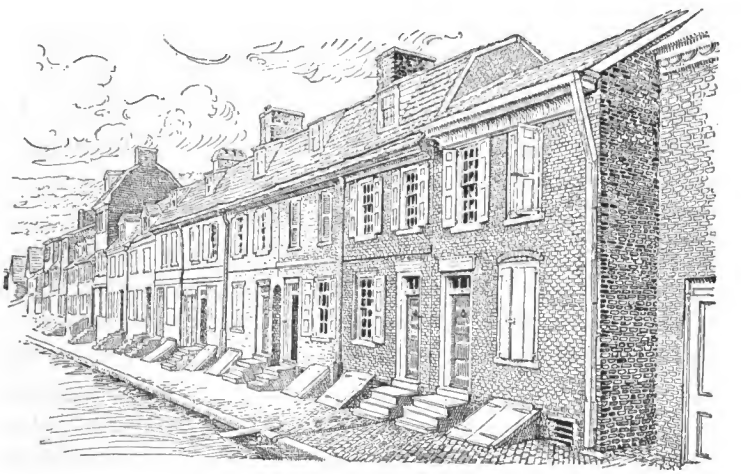
and so he appointed Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey, who lived only a short time. Edward Shippen, who was president of the council, acted as deputy-governor for about a year.[1]

Political Parties. — William Penn had the respect of all the people and the affection of most, and as long as he was in



SWEDISH HOUSES, QUEEN ST., PHILADELPHIA
Built in the early part of the eighteenth century

Pennsylvania there was quiet. But, as soon as he left, slumbering jealousies awoke and factions began their strife and continued it for many years. There were three parties. First, the proprietary party with James Logan, Penn's representative, as leader. This party was composed of the richer and better educated Friends, especially in Philadelphia. These controlled the Council, and in general were desirous of conducting the colony in accordance with Penn's wishes. Logan, perhaps the ablest man in the colony, was too aristocratic to be a good

[1] Markham doubtless could have been appointed again had he not been in ill health. He died 1704.

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leader. He was lacking in sympathy, reserved in manner, severe in speech, and rather harsh in his judgment.

The second and popular party, was led by David Lloyd, the best lawyer in Pennsylvania. He was a consistent Quaker, holding their special doctrines regarding war, oaths, peace, and other matters. He was strongly democratic in his political views, a violent upholder of popular rights, and not always scrupulous as to the means he employed to gain his ends. He was supported by the country Friends until he lost their approval through his violent measures. He possessed great influence and had much to do with shaping the legislation and government of the colony.

The third party, a small one, but having much influence, was the Church of England party. This, on account of its connections in England, gave the Quakers considerable trouble. It demanded defense by force against Indian and other enemies, and the imposition of legal oaths, claiming that affirmations and declarations were not enough. The Quakers objected not only to taking oaths themselves, but also to administering them to others. The directions from England to administer oaths to those who were willing to take them caused the Quaker magistrates much trouble, and some resigned. The object of this third party was to take Pennsylvania out of the hands of the proprietary, and make it a crown colony, and to introduce the established church and a military system. The leader was Colonel Robert Quarry,[1] judge of the admiralty. He was appointed by the crown to look after its interests, and was independent of the colonial government.

Governor John Evans. — After Hamilton's death Penn appointed a young Welshman, John Evans, as deputy gov-

[1] The name in the records and correspondence of the day is often spelled Quary.

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ernor. In this choice Penn again showed his inability to judge character, for Evans was perhaps the worst of his appointees. His conduct during the five years he held the office showed him to be lacking in tact, judgment, and prudence, — indeed in almost all qualities such as an official in his position should possess.

William Penn, Jr. — William Penn's only living son by his first marriage, William Penn, Jr., had made an early marriage and had left his family to be supported by his father. His course of life gave great anxiety to his father, who thought that possibly a stay in Pennsylvania might lead to good results. So he sent him out, putting him under the joint care of James Logan and Governor Evans. Unfortunately Evans sympathized with young Penn and various stories were told of their escapades and fast life. On one occasion a city constable was assaulted while trying to stop some of their riotous proceedings. Evans escaped, but young Penn was arrested and indicted for the offense. The governor forbade the trial. In less than a year young Penn, having sold his property in Pennsylvania, returned to England to continue to be a burden and disgrace to his family.[1]

David Lloyd's Attack on Penn. — The popular party at this time became active, and the Assembly, through the influence of David Lloyd, made a severe attack upon Penn himself, who was charged with misusing his position in order to injure the colony, and managing affairs for his own benefit. An additional charge was made that the life and example of Governor Evans and William Penn, Jr., increased the practice of vice in Pennsylvania. There was some truth in this latter assertion regarding Evans and young Penn, but as a whole

[1] He outlived his father, and died in France about 1719. He left three children.

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the charges were grossly exaggerated. It was petty spite that caused this complaint to be sent to three Friends in England instead of to Penn direct. When this action became known there was general condemnation. The next Assembly published a disclaimer and directed David Lloyd, the speaker, to forward it to Penn. He did this, but at the same time gave private instructions that the paper should not be delivered to Penn. Unfortunately for him the vessel was captured by the French, and the documents fell into the hands of Penn's friends, who forwarded them to him.

Governor Evans' False Alarm. — At the next election most of the members of the previous Assembly were defeated. Penn's supporters were largely in the majority, and David Lloyd lost the speakership. Had Governor Evans possessed any discretion all would have gone on well, but he irritated the people in various ways. One of his follies related to the militia. The Assembly would make no appropriation for a militia, but they did not object to the governor's raising a volunteer body. Evans determined to put their principles to a test and try to scare them into establishing a militia. It was the time of a war between England and France (1706) and the possibility of French war vessels entering the Delaware was by no means unlikely. While an annual fair was in progress, a mounted messenger suddenly made his appearance, shouting that a French fleet was coming up the river. Evans himself soon appeared, sword in hand, calling upon the people to defend themselves. It was

EARLY SEAL OF BUCKS COUNTY INROLLMENT OFFICE

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natural that a panic should follow — valuables were hidden, wives and children sent into the country, and many men mustered for defense. Very few Friends took part, and it being the day for their mid-week meeting most of them went to their houses of worship. The deception became known before night, and the disgust and chagrin of the people at the foolish trick played upon them was great.

Evans and River Toll. — Another ill-advised act of the governor related to the collection of duties. Evans as governor of the "Three Lower Counties" (Delaware) either suggested or allowed the erection of a fort on the Delaware River for the collection of toll from all vessels passing up or down. This, of course, would be a tax on the trade of Philadelphia and against Penn's purpose that there should be a free highway between Pennsylvania and the sea, which was one of the main reasons for the acquirement of the territory.[1]

Two wealthy merchants — one of whom, Richard Hill, had been an old sea captain, and Samuel Preston — had their sloop *Philadelphia* ready to sail. Governor Evans, learning of their intention of putting to sea, rode on horseback to New Castle to reach the fort before the vessel should pass it. The sloop meanwhile proceeded down the river, Richard Hill taking the helm himself, and sailed past the fort where Evans was watching. The sloop was fired upon, but the shot went through the mainsail, doing little harm. Hill then put in to Salem Creek, where he found Lord Cornbury, the governor of New York, and submitted the case to him. Evans had followed,

[1] Evans had made his preparation secretly, getting an engineer from New York to lay out the fort for him. James Logan wrote of Evans, "He is so hidden that he closes himself, like what is said of the cuttle-fish, with his own inbred darkness, and escapes the light."

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so all parties were present. Cornbury reproved Evans, the *Philadelphia* went on her way, and Richard Hill returned to the city victorious. Evans, finding everyone against him, at last gave in, and suspended the law. Later the fort was demolished.

David Lloyd and James Logan. — Evans's follies soon alienated the people from the proprietary party, and David Lloyd again became the leading man, or "boss," as he would be called now. Lloyd succeeded in having Logan, who was his bitter political enemy, impeached on a number of charges; but the council managed to evade the demand for Logan's trial, and he was allowed to sail for England. He remained away two years and then returned fully acquitted by Penn and also by public opinion.

Notwithstanding David Lloyd's methods, his political agitation was productive of good, for it was of great importance to the colony that the popular spirit should be kept earnest and active. David Lloyd and his followers more nearly carried out William Penn's principle of popular rule than did Logan and his friends. The policy of the former was democratic, of the latter aristocratic. Each party went to extremes which might better have been avoided.

Penn in Favor. — Before long there came a change of sentiment regarding Penn, and the new Assembly was strongly in his favor. Many good laws were passed. The Friends had been aroused to the iniquities of slavery, and their influence in the Assembly brought about the passage of laws to prevent the importation of negroes. But the English government, believing that the commercial interests of England would be injured, vetoed the laws. The slave trade was much too profitable to be menaced in any way by a colonial legislature.

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David Lloyd, defeated in the election, retired to Chester, and when he came back to political life his course was creditable. He died in 1720 as chief justice of the colony, greatly respected.

Military Requisitions, 1709. — A war with France was being carried on in Canada, and Governor Gookin, the successor of Evans, was asked by the British government to furnish and support one hundred and fifty men for the expedition against Canada. Governor Gookin tried to comply in a way which would not arouse the anti-war principles of the Quakers. He therefore suggested that the Assembly should make him a grant of £4000. But the Assembly delayed action and then said, "it was contrary to their religious principles to hire men to kill one another." After some time the Assembly unanimously resolved that they could not directly or indirectly raise money for an expedition against Canada, but they voted the Queen £500 as a token of their respect and said that the money should be put into safe hands until they were "satisfied from England that it should not be employed for the use of war." The next Assembly after due consideration voted £2000 "for the Queen's use," expressing the hope that this action "will be taken in good part and accepted as a token of our duty."[1]

COURT HOUSE OR CITY HALL, CHESTER

Erected in 1714; the oldest public building in Pennsylvania

[1] This action was accompanied by a somewhat elaborate statement explaining that while they were "religiously persuaded against war and therefore

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The war came to an end in 1713, and no other requisition was made for about thirty years.

The Question of Oaths. — Another difficulty which Gookin had to face was that connected with the use of legal oaths. The Quakers, as has been seen, objected to oaths and were strenuous in their opposition. In 1711 the Assembly passed an act making an affirmation legal in all cases where a person had conscientious scruples against taking an oath. In this case the individual was to declare that his evidence was, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Gookin signed this act, but when it reached England the government vetoed it. The Assembly then reënacted the bill.

But in 1715 the English law regarding oaths was extended to all the colonies for five years. This act required that all evidence in legal cases should be confirmed by oath, and admitted no affirmations whatever. According to the provisions of the act no person objecting to an oath could give any evidence in a court of justice, sit on a jury, or hold any civil office. A man might see his goods stolen before his eyes and yet because he would not swear to it he had no remedy.[1]

Governor Gookin held that this law applied to Pennsylvania, and though he was remonstrated with and the peculiar conditions of Pennsylvania urged upon him, he would not yield. The Quakers held that as their principles were well known at the time of granting the charter it was bad faith to try to enforce such a law. Moreover, as most of the judges,

could not be active therein," they felt it their "bounden duty to pay tribute and yield due obedience to the powers God had set over them as far as their religious persuasions can admit." The use to which the Queen might put the money was her part, not theirs.

[1] "And this notwithstanding he said that he was ready to suffer all the penalties for perjury if his declaration or affirmation was found to be false or in any way consciously untrue."

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magistrates, and civil officers were Quakers it would be impossible to administer justice and keep order. The judges hesitated to perform their duties under Gookin's interpretation, and so for about two years the colony existed almost without a government.[1]

SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA — 1712

Penn Plans to sell Pennsylvania to the Crown. — Penn had suffered so much from his financial and political difficulties that he had decided to sell to the crown his rights in Pennsylvania, reserving only his private property and the lands that he owned. The negotiations began as early as 1700. There were many difficulties, because Penn was unwilling that any action of his should injure the freedom or personal rights possessed by the colonists, especially those dear to the Quakers. It was Penn's stipulation that "the people called Quakers be continued as capable and eligible to any civil employment" which caused the negotiations to be prolonged until 1712. The terms were agreed upon, and £12,000

[1] As this condition of affairs could not go on indefinitely, the Assembly and council unanimously petitioned the proprietary for the removal of Gookin.

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fixed as the price. Penn had already received an advance payment of £1000 when a stroke of paralysis rendered him incapable of transacting business, and the sale fell through, to the benefit of his family,[1] and to the great advantage of Pennsylvania, which in this way escaped becoming a crown colony.

Death of Penn, 1718. — Penn lived six years longer, with weakened mind and body, but not unhappily, for all his troubles were forgotten, and he retained the religious serenity which had been so characteristic of him. He died in 1718 and was buried by the side of his first wife in the little Quaker graveyard of Jordans, where a simple stone marks the resting place of the great man. Notwithstanding the aspersions of his enemies and the false charges of historians, his fame has increased, and Penn holds a higher place than ever in the regard of mankind.[2]

The English and Irish estates of William Penn went to William Penn, Jr., with provision for his sister Letitia. The American estates were left to William Penn's widow, Hannah Penn, and her children, who were all minors. William Penn, Jr., tried to gain possession of the American estates, but the courts sustained the will. So Hannah Penn as executrix administered affairs, and she proved herself far more capable in business matters than her husband.

[1] After the American Revolution had begun Penn's heirs received more than ten times as much for the extinguishment of their rights and claims.

[2] The charges of Macaulay have been amply disproved by Paget, Forster, Dixon, Janney, and others. They have been somewhat modified in the later editions of the *History* but in essentials they still stand without comment both in text and index.

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CHAPTER VIII

EARLY PENNSYLVANIA UNDER PENN'S SUCCESSORS

The German Immigrants.—Before continuing the political history of the colony it will be well to review the character and condition of the inhabitants. Mention has already been made of the coming of Pastorius and the early colonists who settled Germantown. About 1717 another great tide of German immigrants began to arrive from the neighborhood of the Rhine. The route taken by these early immigrants was down the Rhine to Rotterdam, thence to some English port,[1] and then direct to the Delaware.

These people came from the borders of Switzerland, the Rhine country, and from Baden, Saxony, Hanover, and other countries. They were all Protestants, and many were Mennonites, who held many views in common with the Quakers. It was the freedom for religious belief and practice which attracted these people. They are often called Palatines because the first settlers were from the Palatinate, one of the states of southern Germany. Some of them were poor. "The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face. Their clothing was homespun and woven very plain and coarse and cut upon fashions of their own." So many came that the council took steps to discover the character of the immi-

[1] This was a necessity, for by the Navigation Acts then in force, all vessels trading with the colonies were compelled to clear from an English port.

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grants and to require them to take oaths or affirmations of "being well affected to his Majesty." As these immigrants could not legally hold land, spoke no language but German, and were ignorant of colonial customs, it was natural that there should be concern regarding the influence they might have upon the colony. Fortunately the vast majority were sober, industrious, peaceable farmers, only bent on bettering their condition. The immigration continued, and by 1725 there were fifty thousand Germans in Pennsylvania. The first who came settled around Germantown. Those coming later settled in communities of their own in the Lehigh and Schuylkill valleys and in Bucks, Berks, Montgomery, Chester, and Lancaster counties. They kept their own language, dress, and customs, and so it happens that in this twentieth century there are large tracts of country where a dialect of German, known as "Pennsylvania Dutch," is still spoken. By 1750 it is estimated that the Germans formed one third of the population of Pennsylvania, at that time about 275,000 people.

The Germans have formed a valuable part of the population, for while their conservatism has sometimes been excessive, their industry, honesty, and other sterling qualities have been of great worth.

These German immigrants belonged to different Protestant denominations. The Lutherans and the Reformed were the most numerous; there were also the Mennonites, who settled for the most part in Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, and Montgomery counties; the Tunkers or Dunkards, who settled at Ephrata in Lancaster County, and whose printing press became famous; the Moravians, who settled Nazareth and Bethlehem, and, under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf, became great missionaries and educators, and the small

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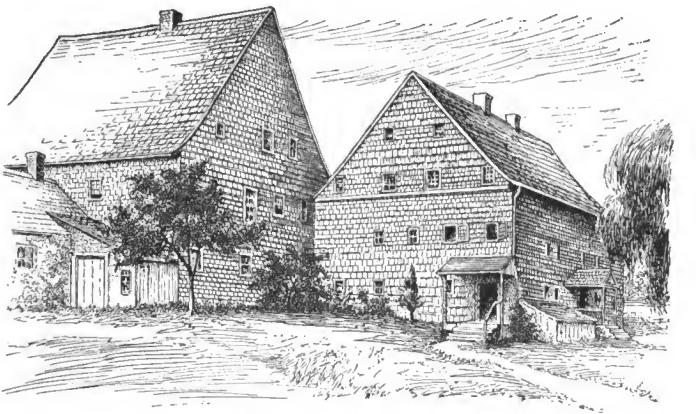
body of Schwenkfelders, who settled along the upper Schuylkill. The Schwenkfelders, the Tunkers and Mennonites, all agreed with the Quakers in regard to oaths, war, and simplicity of life, and consistently supported the Quakers in their legislation and action in regard to these matters.



SISTERS' HOUSE AND SAAL AT EPHRATA
Erected about 1740

In the early days agriculture was the chief occupation, and the German farmers, especially of Lancaster County, were unsurpassed. Their skill, industry, and economy brought them great prosperity, and they contributed much to the material resources of the commonwealth. The descendants of the Germans have filled positions of honor in the community, no less than eight having occupied the governor's chair.

The Scotch-Irish. — Another influential element of the population has been what is known as the Scotch-Irish. The name is not a very good one, for they had little or no Irish blood. They were the descendants of Scotsmen who had

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colonized Ulster, in the north of Ireland, during the reign of James I. They had prospered and were excellent farmers, and had also developed the linen industry with great success. They were Presbyterians and so Nonconformists. With the Quakers and other Nonconformists as regards the Church of England, they had suffered much in the reign of Charles II; they had loyally supported William III in his struggle to retain Ireland, and the siege of Londonderry (1688–1689) is one of the famous sieges of history. Notwithstanding this, the English Parliament refused to extend the Act of Toleration to Ireland, and subjected these people to all the exactions and restrictions which were the lot of those who differed from the established church. In addition to this the trade laws passed by the English Parliament forbade the export from Ireland of the articles she was best fitted to produce, and deprived Irish ships of the benefit of the Navigation Act.

The result was, that, beginning about 1718,[1] a stream of immigrants from Ireland set toward America and continued, until by the close of the eighteenth century thousands had sought new homes in the free western lands.

These Scotch-Irish were the very opposite of the Germans, for they were energetic, self-reliant, pushing, quick-tempered, and warlike. Had the Germans been less conservative and the Scotch-Irish less violent it would have been better for the cause of peace and order.

Some of these immigrants remained in the eastern part of the colony, but more pushed on to the frontier, often settling upon lands regardless of the owners, and when forced to leave taking up other tracts still farther west. They had

[1] Many of the long leases of land ran out about this time and could not profitably be renewed, which was another inducement to leave Ireland.

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no faith whatever in the peaceful policy of the Quakers, and no confidence in the Indians, whom they regarded as having no rights. It would be far from the truth to imagine that all were of this character. The majority were men who valued liberty and desired to be good citizens, but they were dogmatic in their religion, easily provoked, and combative. They were the steady opposers of the Quaker policies down to the Revolution. They naturally took the American side in the conflict, and at that period gained control of the political situation.

Governor Sir William Keith; Changes in the Legal Code. — The petition to remove Gookin reached England when Penn was unable to transact business, and so his wife, Hannah Penn, and her advisers selected William Keith.[1] He was a man of experience in colonial matters and had already visited Philadelphia. He shrewdly recognized the necessity of conciliating the Assembly, and was remarkably successful in doing so. He came to Pennsylvania in 1717. Shortly after, an act permitting affirmation was passed and sent to England, where it was confirmed. But at the same time and probably to make the affirmation act more acceptable, changes were made in the criminal law which made it more like the English code. Highway robbery, burglary, and other serious crimes were made punishable by death. This action was not creditable to the Assembly, but it seems to have aroused no protest. This code continued in force till the Revolution, when a return was made to the old law.

The matter of affirmations was finally settled in 1724, when every one was left to take an oath or affirmation as

[1] He afterwards succeeded to a baronetcy and is generally known as Sir William Keith.

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his conscience might dictate. The result was to drive the Quakers from any position in which they had to administer an oath.[1]

Sir William Keith was so tactful that the Assembly voted him a good salary, and he actually induced them to establish a militia; expenses were kept low, and he was politic in his treatment of the Indians.

Lack of Money.—The one element of disturbance was the lack of money. Most payments had to be made by means of barter, which was very inconvenient. The laws of England forbade the establishment of many kinds of manufactures. The imports from England were large, and had to be paid for in gold and silver, which caused a continual drain of coin. Various means had been adopted to remedy the trouble in the other colonies. The most common was the issue of paper money, but in many cases the security had not been sufficient, and the bills were at a large discount.

Paper Money Issued. — When Governor Keith proposed that Pennsylvania should issue paper money there was much opposition, based on the experience of other colonies, but finally Keith's plan was adopted (1723) with happy results. The success was due to the fact that no bills were issued without ample security. The consequence was that with a secure and convenient medium of exchange business greatly prospered. The system was employed till the Revolution.[2] The first issue was for £15,000 and the bills varied in amount from one shilling to twenty shillings.

[1] If any one preferred taking an oath the official was bound to administer it.

[2] The method was substantially, "that any owner of plate, or unencumbered real estate, could procure those bills by pledging his property and paying five per cent per annum. The loan on plate could be for one year only, on real estate for eight years." One eighth of the loan was to be repaid yearly.

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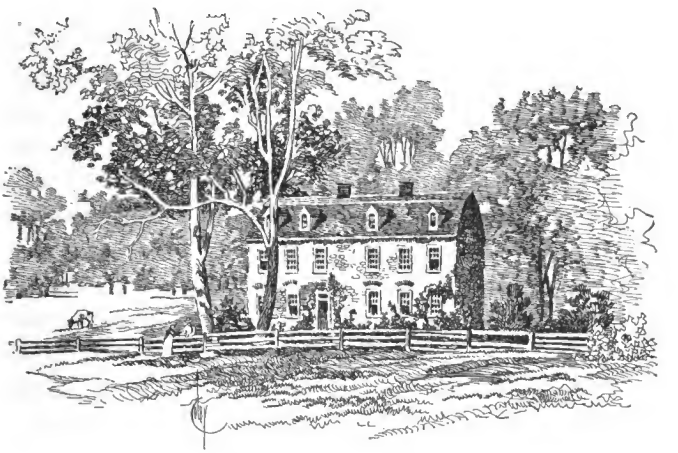
Keith Quarrels with the Council and is Removed. — Though Keith was popular in the Assembly and with the people, the Council was suspicious. Keith on his part held, and was doubtless technically correct, that he was not required to follow its advice. James Logan, still secretary of the province and special representative of Hannah Penn, was removed by Keith. Logan submitted, but went to



GRÆME PARK, RESIDENCE OF SIR WILLIAM KEITH

At Horsham, Montgomery County. The estate contained 1200 acres. Keith built the house in 1722

After a painting in the Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society

England to complain to Mrs. Penn. She restored him to office and censured Keith, and directed him to consult the Council in all that he did. Keith, to defend himself, sent all the papers to the Assembly. David Lloyd took his side and the Assembly voted Keith a thousand pounds. But Mrs. Penn held the reins, and when she heard of the affair she quietly removed Keith. He left the country in 1728, and died in London in poverty, in 1749.

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Benjamin Franklin comes to Philadelphia, 1723. — Keith had been the best governor the province had so far known, but he had not paid enough attention to the rights of those who employed him. During his administration Pennsylvania's greatest and most celebrated citizen, Benjamin Franklin, came to Philadelphia. He arrived, a young man of seventeen, in 1723. He soon found employment as a printer, and before long he attracted the attention of Keith, who talked pleasantly and plausibly to him. Franklin confided to him his wish to establish a printing house, and Keith advised him to go to London for his outfit, promising him letters of introduction and giving the impression that the public or some one would furnish the needful funds for buying a press, and that Franklin should have the public printing. The letters and money were to be sent on board the vessel on which Franklin had taken passage. Keith never sent him the letters or money, and Franklin had to make his own way in London. In his *Autobiography* he treats Keith severely, and through this episode Keith's name is better known than that of almost any other colonial governor.

Governor Gordon's Administration. — The next governor sent out from England was Patrick Gordon.[1]

If quiet, peace, prosperity, and growth are indications of success, Gordon's term of office must be regarded as the best in Pennsylvania's colonial history. He was an old soldier, and was eighty-two years of age when appointed, but so vigorous was he, that he continued in office until his death at the age of ninety-two (1736). Among the most impor-

[1] This appointment was made while Springett Penn, William Penn, Jr.'s, oldest son, was prosecuting his claim, as eldest male descendant of William Penn, to the government and possession of Pennsylvania. The contestants agreed on the appointment, which was approved by the British government.

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tant matters which claimed attention during his term of office were the ever-recurring boundary dispute with Maryland, the reduction of the duty on salt for the benefit of the Delaware fishermen, the appointment of a permanent agent in London to look after the affairs of the province, treaties with the Indians, and the establishment of Lancaster County (1729).

Redemptioners. — The large number of immigrants coming into Pennsylvania, especially those belonging to the class of indentured servants, presented many questions not easy to answer. These indentured servants were those who, being too poor to emigrate, bound or sold themselves for a term of years in order to pay their passage and other expenses. This was usually arranged with the master or owner of the vessel, who through his agent sold the men on arrival to those who would buy. Such an advertisement as the following was common:

> THOMAS DENHAM to his good country friends adviseth: That he hath some likely Servants to dispose of. One hundred Palatines at £10 a head.

The system appealed especially to the Germans, and they came in great numbers. These redemptioners, as they were called, usually brought from £2 to £4 per year, but as they had to be fed and clothed, they really cost much more, and the risk of servants running away had always to be taken into consideration. Many of these redemptioners were desirable citizens, being skilled workmen in various trades, who from disaster or for other reasons desired to try their fortune in the New World.[1] Others were worthless.

[1] It is estimated that from 1737 to 1746 about 10,000 Palatines arrived in Pennsylvania, and from 1747 to 1756 about 40,000. These included redemptioners.

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Franklin and his Plans for the Public Benefit. — Franklin returned to Philadelphia in 1725 and soon found employment, and through his skill, industry, and ability was very successful. He bought the *Pennsylvania Gazette*[1] and on October 2, 1729, issued the first number of the new paper.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
After the portrait by Duplessis, painted in 1783

This, with the *Mercury*, both weekly papers, made two newspapers in the province. Franklin's venture proved a great success, and through it, in addition to his personal characteristics, he attained a position of wide influence. He not only looked carefully after his own interests, but also after those of

[1] This paper still exists under the name of the *Saturday Evening Post*, with a weekly circulation which would certainly have astonished Franklin.

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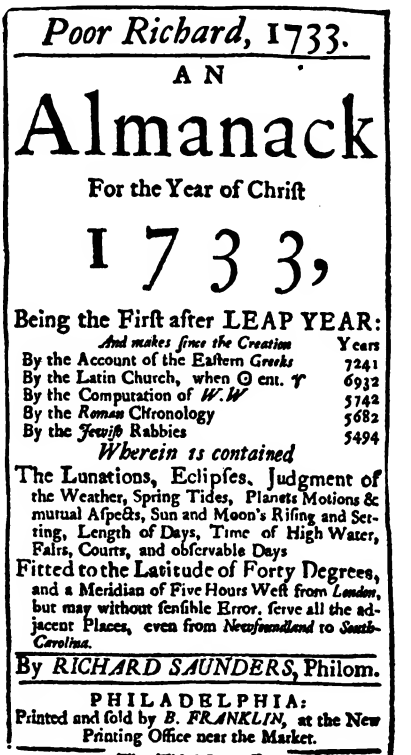
the community. He was constantly suggesting improvements in existing conditions. In 1731 he persuaded his friends to deposit in a convenient place all the books they could spare for the use of others, and this was the beginning of the great library commonly known as the Philadelphia Library. In 1732, when only twenty-six, he started his *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which was continued for twenty-five years. The almanac professed to be edited by one Richard Saunders, but everyone knew that Franklin was the real editor. It was very much like other almanacs except that scattered through its pages were wise and witty sayings, full of practical common sense and inculcating thrift and good morals. Many of these have become proverbs. Some of these maxims are, "God helps them that help themselves," "One to-day is worth two to-morrows," "Three removes are as bad as a fire," "It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright."



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR:

And makes ſince the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eaſtern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when ⊙ ent. ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W. W*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obſervable Days

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, but may without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and ſold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market.

The Third Impreſſion.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC

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Andrew Hamilton. — Another distinguished man of the period was Andrew Hamilton. He was born in Scotland about 1676, emigrated to America, and came to Philadelphia from Maryland about 1714 as a lawyer of high standing. He was soon in public life, being attorney general and a member of the Council and speaker of the Assembly for nine years. He

THE "STATE HOUSE," PHILADELPHIA — NORTH FRONT

was a strong upholder of popular rights, and his most celebrated achievement was the successful defense in New York of the printer, John Peter Zenger, who was tried for a libel on the government, published in his paper, the New York *Weekly Journal*. This trial, which established the freedom of the press in America, is the most famous one of colonial days, and is reckoned as one of the great trials of history.

Building of the "State House." — But Hamilton is specially interesting to Pennsylvanians, and to Philadelphians in particular, because he was the leading man in the movement which led to the erection of the State House now universally known as Independence Hall.

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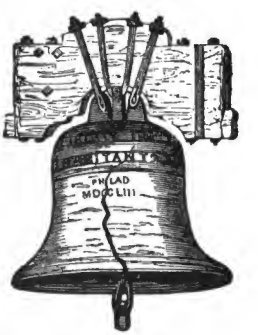
The need of public buildings was manifest, for the Assembly met sometimes in the court house and sometimes in private houses. At last, in 1729, an appropriation was made, and a committee appointed in which Andrew Hamilton took the leading part. He not only drew the plans, but also superintended the erection of the building. The interior arrangement and external appearance are due to him. The city, and indeed the whole country, may well be congratulated that the commission fell into such competent hands. No building of colonial days, and few — if any — since, surpass its simple and chaste yet dignified and handsome architecture. To Hamilton also is probably due the preservation of the square behind the hall as "a public open green and walks forever."



THE "LIBERTY BELL"

The hall was first used for the Assembly in October, 1736, but the building was not finished until 1748.

The "Liberty Bell." — The Assembly was called together by a bell, and the need of a larger one had been felt for some time. In 1751 a resolution for a "great bell" was passed and a committee consisting of Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, and Edward Warner was appointed to procure one. The order was sent to London for a bell of two thousand pounds weight to cost about £100. Minute directions for its making were given, including the inscriptions to be placed upon it. The bell arrived, in August, 1752, and was duly hung in the tower. In testing the bell it was cracked so that it had to be re-cast.[1] Again it was unsatisfactory, and was re-cast a second time.

[1] The Philadelphia workmen who re-cast the bell were Pass & Stow.

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This third casting was satisfactory and the bell was rung on many occasions, the most notable of which was in July, 1776, when the independence of the colonies was proclaimed. For many years the bell has been known as the "Liberty Bell." The almost prophetic motto, *Proclaim Liberty throughout all the Land, to all the inhabitants thereof.*—LEVIT. XXV: 10, was suggested by Isaac Norris.[1] The bell is said to have been cracked, July 8, 1835, when it was being tolled for the death of Chief Justice Marshall.

Christ Church. — Another building begun at this period was Christ Church on Second Street. There had been as early as 1695 an Episcopal church there, which was rebuilt in 1711, and to which Queen Anne in 1708 had given some silver articles for the communion service. But it was felt that a larger and handsomer building was needed, so in 1727 the work was begun. Dr. John Kearsley, who had been on the building committee of the state house, was the architect of the church and superintended its erection. It is a monument to his good taste and skill. The building was completed in 1744, except the tower and steeple, which were finished in 1754, when a chime of bells brought from England was placed in position. It is said that the captain of the vessel bringing them over made no charge, and ever after when his vessel came into port it was greeted with merry chimes from Christ Church steeple.[2] (See plate facing page 133.)

Philadelphia about 1730. — Philadelphia in 1730 was a flourishing town of about 10,000 inhabitants, but it was

[1] Isaac Norris was a great upholder of popular rights. On one occasion in a debate he said with great emphasis, "No man shall ever stamp his foot on my grave and say, 'Curse him! here lies one who basely betrayed the liberties of his country.'"

[2] Washington when living in Philadelphia, as President of the United States, regularly attended service at Christ Church and his pew is still pointed out.

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lacking in what are called modern improvements. There were few sanitary regulations, and the water from kitchens, pumps, and manufactories found its way into the creeks and rivers over the surface of the ground. Tan yards, slaughter houses, and other offensive places lined Dock Creek. There was no protection against fires, and a destructive fire in 1730 led to the importation of fire engines and in 1737 to the establishment of the Union Fire Company of Philadelphia, Franklin being one of the most active in organizing it. This company of volunteer firemen was followed in a few years by a number of others.

A public almshouse was begun in 1731 and finished the next year. It was situated in a field between Third and Fourth and Spruce and Pine Streets.[1]

There was much activity in the city and country. Roads were constructed or improved, new bridges built, and new ferries established. The Lancaster road[2] was opened in 1733 and stage routes begun, and the post office greatly extended.

An advertisement in Andrew Bradford's *Mercury*, July 20, 1732, makes this announcement:

> "The Post Office which was first begun in America by Colonel Hamilton of New York about thirty eight years ago has never yet been established to the southward of Philadelphia. . . . It is now extended about 350 miles from the city of Philadelphia to the city of Williamsburg in Virginia. . . . Mr. Andrew Bradford receives the mail from New England, New York, etc., every Wednesday and dispatches it between two and three o'clock on Thursday morning for Newcastle."

[1] The Friends' Alms house on Walnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, had been in existence some time, but it was mainly for indigent Friends. It is the one mentioned in Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

[2] This is now known as the "Old Lancaster road." The present "Lancaster turnpike" is of later construction.

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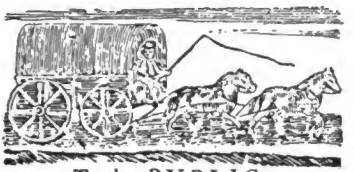
The long announcement gives the route the mail carriers followed and the time between stations, by which it appears that mail from Philadelphia reached Williamsburg in seven days, that is, on the following "Thursday evening at six o'clock."



To the PUBLIC.

THE FLYING MACHINE, kept by John Mercereau, at the New Blazing-Star-Ferry, near New-York, ſets off from Powles Hook every Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday Mornings, for Philadelphia, and performs the Journey in a Day and a Half, for the Summer Seaſon, till the 1ſt of November; from that Time to go twice a Week till the firſt of May, when they again perform it three Times a Week. When the Stages go only twice a Week, they ſet off Mondays and Thurſdays. The Waggons in Philadelphia ſet out from the Sign of the George, in Second-ſtreet, the ſame Morning. The Paſſengers are deſired to croſs the Ferry the Evening before, as the Stages muſt ſet off early the next Morning. The Price for each Paſſenger is *Twenty Shillings*, Proc. and Goods as uſual. Paſſengers going Part of the Way to pay in Proportion.

As the Proprietor has made ſuch Improvements upon the Machines, one of which is in Imitation of a Coach, he hopes to merit the Favour of the Publick.

JOHN MERCEREAU.

New York Gazette 1771

"FLYING MACHINE" ADVERTISEMENT

Manufactures were beginning to receive attention. The manufacture of iron had been started near Pottstown by Thomas Rutter of Germantown in 1717, and he had many followers. Brewing and distilling had long been established and the use of liquors was general. A statement of Governor Gordon to the Assembly in January, 1734, sounds as if it might have been made in the twentieth century. "The prevailing practice of drinking rum," he said, "and the debauchery introduced by the vast consumption of it, is the crying sin and disease of the country." [1]

The commerce of the province had a steady growth; for the seventeen years previous to 1736, there had been an average of one hundred and eighteen vessels per year arriving at the wharves of Philadelphia.

[1] There were large imports of wines and spirits from England, and also of rum from New England and the West Indies.

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CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL, COLONIAL, AND INDIAN PROBLEMS

John and Thomas Penn Visit Pennsylvania. — Among the incidents of Gordon's term of office were the visits of John and Thomas Penn, sons of William Penn, and now joint proprietors of Pennsylvania.[1] They were received with a great celebration. John Penn returned to England the next year to look after the boundary contest with Lord Baltimore. Thomas Penn built for himself a handsome house and remained in the province until 1741. He had few of the graces or virtues of his father, was not popular, and displayed little or no public spirit. He left the Quakers, becoming it would seem a very worldly man, his whole concern apparently being to increase his estates which by this time were becoming more and more valuable. One means of multiplying his wealth was by purchases of land from the Indians, and it is in connection with these that Thomas Penn is chiefly remembered, not to his credit, as will appear.

The Walking Purchase, 1737. — Up to this time the relations of the whites and Indians had been friendly, the purchases made were fair, little or no advantage being taken of the Indians. James Logan, the secretary, was especially careful in his dealings with them. The Indians, however, began to realize that they were receiving no permanent

[1] In the settlement of the estate John received two fourths of the proprietary rights, Thomas one fourth, and John and Thomas as trustees for their brother Richard, a minor, one fourth. Their sister Margaret received a money allowance from her brothers. Hannah Penn died 1733.

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equivalent for their lands and were gradually being pushed farther and farther westward. It was not easy to keep the whites from entering the country still belonging to the Indians. In 1718 Logan had shown to the Indians deeds covering the country from Duck Creek in Delaware to the "Forks of the Delaware," [1] and extending back toward the Susquehanna River. This the Indians acknowledged, but complained that the whites were entering the lands between the Delaware and the Lehigh belonging to the Minisinks. Logan thereupon forbade the survey of any land in this region. This restriction was difficult to enforce.

The Penns about this time (1737) sold a tract of ten thousand acres to be taken up "in some unsettled part of the province," and this region between the Delaware and the Lehigh was chosen as it included some of the most fertile lands, and allotments were made without consent of the Indians.

In order to secure these allotments of land there was produced a deed or the copy of a deed, purporting to be executed in 1686, granting to William Penn a tract of land beginning a little above Trenton and running westward to Wrightstown, in Bucks County, thence northwest parallel to the Delaware River as far as a man could walk in a day and a half, and thence eastward by a line, undetermined in the deed, to the Delaware River. This was a common form of deed, and where both parties were honest little trouble was likely to follow. This walk had never been taken, and in 1737 Thomas Penn, in order to gain title to the lands, produced what purported to be a copy of the above-named deed.[2]

[1] That is, between the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, where Easton now is.

[2] The paper was unsigned, there were blanks in the text, and there was no record of any such document.

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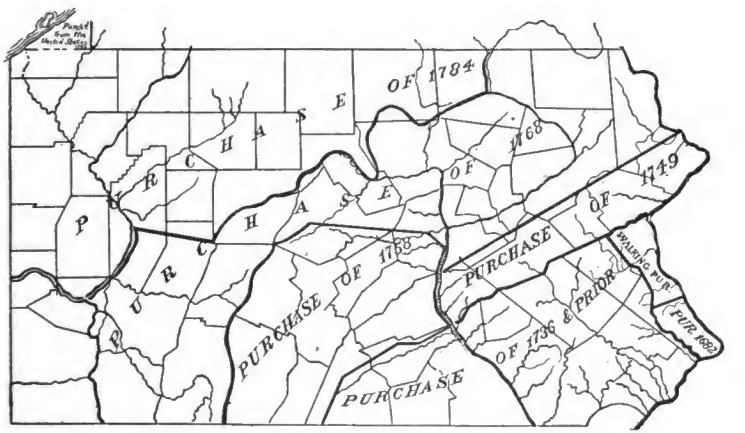
The Indians agreed to the terms and everything was made ready for the walk; the route was surveyed, a path cleared, and the swiftest walkers advertised for, food was placed along the route, and everything done to enable the men to make the best time possible. The Indians had expected that the leisurely methods of William Penn would be followed, and that the walk would not extend more than about forty miles.



MAP SHOWING PURCHASES OF LAND FROM THE INDIANS

When they saw the pace which the whites were making, the Indian walkers stopped in disgust, saying, "No sit down to smoke, no shoot squirrel, but run, run all day." At noon the second day the two white walkers, for one had fallen by the way, reached a place more than sixty miles from the starting point. But this was only the least part of the fraud, for instead of running the line directly to the Delaware River, it was run northeasterly to the river, and included all the best lands of the Minisinks.[1]

[1] Possibly 50,000 acres were added by this method.

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The Indians refused to give up the land and stayed where they were.[1] The proprietaries shrewdly applied to the Six Nations, who claimed the Delawares as their subjects. The matter was decided in a conference held in Philadelphia in 1742, when a large number of the chiefs of the various tribes were present. The chiefs of the Six Nations were finely treated, and gave judgment in favor of the proprietaries, and in the harshest and most contemptuous way they ordered the Delawares to give up their lands. The Delawares had no choice but to obey. But the time came when they savagely revenged their wrongs upon the whites.[2]

James Logan, Acting Governor. — On the death of Governor Gordon in 1736, James Logan, as president of the council, became acting governor. As it was held that only a governor could sign bills, little was done until the appointment of another governor.

During the two years in which affairs were in this condition there was considerable trouble along the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. No one living in the disputed territory could be sure in which province he ought to pay taxes. Besides this, there was between 1732 and 1737 a conflict between the Pennsylvanians and Marylanders for possession of the country west of the Susquehanna and north of the fortieth parallel of latitude. A small war was waged between the settlers, in which some incidents were tragic and others bordered on the comic.

[1] After every allowance has been made, there seems no doubt that it was a fraud on the Indians purposely committed.

[2] The Quakers perhaps without exception supported the side of the Indians, so did Franklin indirectly; and Charles Thomson, later the secretary of the Continental Congress, published in London (1759) a book on the general subject of the alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians, in which he also takes their side.

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Governor George Thomas. — George Thomas, who had been a West Indian planter, was appointed governor in 1738. The former party feeling had greatly subsided under the administrations of Keith and of Gordon. The Quakers were now in a decided minority of the population, but, largely through the German vote, were in the majority in the Assembly. Had Governor Thomas possessed tact, and been less hasty in temper, the peaceful situation might have continued longer.

The Assembly and Military Appropriations. — England declared war against Spain in 1739, and Governor Thomas, before hostilities had broken out, sent a message to the Assembly asking for an appropriation for the defense of the colony. The Assembly felt just as its predecessors had done regarding war and warlike measures, and declined to make any grant for the purpose. At the same time it was suggested that the governor had the power to raise a volunteer militia. The governor instead of falling in with this suggestion entered into a long discussion with the Assembly, which finally adjourned without granting his request.

The governor then raised a body of troops, many of whom were indentured servants. This action brought in new difficulties, for these were men who in order to come to Pennsylvania had sold their time and labor to repay the expense of their passage. By enlisting they escaped payment of these rightful dues. The Assembly when it next met voted £3000 "for the King's use" provided these servants were dismissed from the militia and no more were enlisted. The governor angrily vetoed the bill.

Quarrels of the Governor and the Assembly; Riots. — The next Assembly voted £2500 to pay the masters for the loss of their servants. Peace was declared, and had Gov-

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ernor Thomas been wise he would have dropped the whole matter, but he had written an angry letter to Thomas Penn, denouncing the Quakers. The London agent of the colony securing a copy of the letter sent it to the Assembly. This letter in addition to the sharp quarrel between the governor and the Assembly which was still going on, created great excitement, and roused much party feeling, which continued down to the Revolution. The country people as a whole supported the Assembly, and Philadelphia, where the Quakers were in a minority, supported the "gentleman's party," as it was termed. The result was that at the election in 1742 there was a great riot in Philadelphia. The Germans came in large numbers to support the Assembly and the governor's party brought seventy sailors from the ships in the river. A fight took place in which fifty of the sailors were arrested and put into jail. At the election the Assembly party was overwhelmingly successful, and all the old members were re-elected. The leader of the popular party was Isaac Norris,[1] son of William Penn's friend of the same name, and from this time he became one of the most prominent men in Pennsylvania.

Appropriations for Military Supplies. — In 1744 England declared war with France[2] and again the question of defence came up. The governor had learned something by this time and managed affairs much better. He raised 10,000 men with the aid of Franklin, who sympathised with the popular party in most things and with the governor in the matter of defence. James Logan, though a Quaker, believed in defensive war, and supported the governor.

[1] He was also grandson of Thomas Lloyd, and he married Sarah Logan, daughter of James Logan.

[2] This is often called King George's War. It lasted four years 1744–1748.

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The English having determined to send an expedition against the French stronghold of Louisburg, Cape Breton, all the colonies were called upon to contribute to the expenses. The governor was compelled to ask the Assembly for an appropriation. The Assembly followed the example of 1711 and made an appropriation of £4000 to be expended in the purchase of "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or other grain,

Reduced Facsimile of the Heading of an Early Issue of the First Newspaper in Philadelphia

within this province, and to be shipped from hence for the King's service." Franklin tells us that the governor understood "other grain" to be gunpowder.

Owing to ill health Governor Thomas resigned in 1746 and the province was without a deputy or lieutenant-governor for nearly three years.

There had been many troubles with the Indians in late years, but in various ways they had been settled. Many of them had been due to drunkenness both of whites and Indians or to local causes, but there had arisen among the tribes a very general feeling of hatred against the English, the Quakers excepted. This feeling was partly due to the "Walking Purchase" and other negotiations, which the

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Indians felt were unjustly carried on, and partly to the accumulation of petty acts of injustice or cruelty.

Value of Indian Allies. — This was the period of the struggle between the English and the French for the control of North America. Between the French settlements along the St. Lawrence River and in the Mississippi Valley, and the English settlements on the Atlantic coast and westward, there was a large unsettled country occupied by Indians. Whoever gained these as allies would have a great advantage. The French were quick to see this and bent their energies to make friends of these Indians. In this effort they were very successful, and the English found that in order to hold any of the Indians large presents must be made. This was a heavy expense and the proprietaries declined to pay their share, though it was their duty to do so, being large owners of the soil. The result was an increase of ill feeling between the colonists and proprietaries.

Frontier Conflicts; Albany Congress, 1754. — Notwithstanding that peace had been made in 1748, conditions along the frontier continued much the same. The French claimed that the whole Ohio Valley belonged to them and proceeded to enforce this claim by erecting a chain of forts reaching from Canada to New Orleans. The carrying out of this plan involved trespass on the country claimed by Virginia, and led to the expedition, headed by George Washington, in 1753–1754, to ascertain the exact condition of affairs.[1] The knowledge gained helped to bring about a conference of representatives of all the colonies at Albany in 1754. In this Pennsylvania was represented by Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin on the part of the Assembly and by John Penn and Robert Peters on behalf

[1] Washington's report led to another expedition in 1754, when Washington was compelled to surrender.

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of the governor. One result of the conference was a treaty with the Iroquois. Another was a Plan of Union of all the colonies for their common benefit, which was proposed by Benjamin Franklin, and was adopted by the delegates; but it was refused by the crown because it gave too much power to the colonies, and by the colonies because it gave too much power to the crown.

Purchases of Indian Lands; Indians Defiant. — While at Albany, the Pennsylvania commissioners on behalf of the proprietaries bought from the Iroquois for £400 all of what is now western Pennsylvania south and west of a line from Shamokin to Lake Erie. Whether the stories charging fraud and deception in the purchase are true or not, it is certain that the Indians of Pennsylvania were angry when they found that their whole domain had been sold without consultation with them or without benefit to them. It was the last blow. As a result they defied the Iroquois, attached themselves to the French, and only waited an opportunity to wreak vengeance on those who had wronged them.

PENN'S TREATY MONUMENT

The Results of Quaker Indian Policy. — There can be no doubt whatever that had the sons of Penn followed the just and peaceful policy of their father, the Pennsylvania natives would have been true to them, and the French would have sought their alliance in vain. A striking evidence of this is the fact that in the future wars and raids no Quaker was knowingly disturbed, though others around them suffered all the horrors of an Indian attack. It also shows that it was not fear of the Iroquois, or cowardice, but just treatment

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that gave Pennsylvania a peaceful frontier from 1682 to 1755.

Fort Duquesne.—The English, recognizing the importance of the place, had in 1753 erected a small fort or stockade near the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. The French, also perfectly aware of the advantages of the spot, not long after drove the English away, and erected a fort there which they called Fort Duquesne. Benjamin Franklin printed an account of this incident, and at the end added his famous design of a rattlesnake cut into pieces with the motto "Join or die," this being a graphic way of urging the colonies to unite for their common interests.[1]

[1] This device was used several times in the history of the colonies.

DEVICE PRINTED IN FRANKLIN'S "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE," 1754

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CHAPTER X

COLONIAL WARS

Death of James Logan, 1751. — In 1751 James Logan, the most respected man in Pennsylvania, who had retired from active life some years before, died at the age of eighty-seven. He left to the city his valuable library of about three thousand volumes. It is now under the care of the Library Company of Philadelphia. His handsome residence, "Stenton" (built in 1728), still attests his style of living and excellent taste. He was always a warm friend of the Indians, and many conferences and entertainments were held in the grounds around his house.

The Assembly and Proprietaries. — The Assembly and the governor continued to have many disputes. The Assembly advocated a larger issue of paper money, but the governor, privately instructed by the proprietaries, vetoed all bills providing for issues of paper currency. Again, the proprietaries claimed that the governor should have a voice in disbursing all money raised. This claim the Assembly refused to allow, asserting that the representatives of the people should have control of appropriating and spending the funds raised by taxation. Hamilton, weary of the situation in which he was placed, resigned in 1754, and was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris. He had the same difficulties with the Assembly as his predecessor, the result being that nothing was done in the way of defense against the threatening French, or their Indian allies.

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French and Indian War, 1754. — War between the English and the French broke again out in 1754. Previously colonial wars had begun in Europe; this time the first outbreak was in America. In order to be ready for the inevitable conflict, the British government had sent out troops under the command of General Edward Braddock. Unfortunately he was ignorant of conditions in America and of the Indian methods of warfare.

The Pennsylvania Assembly, though refusing to pass money bills, voted provisions for the troops. Franklin, on his own credit, collected wagons and pack horses. At length, moved by the danger, the Assembly issued notes amounting to £15,000, a large portion of which was for provisioning the troops.

Braddock's Defeat; Indian Ravages. — Braddock set out from Alexandria, Virginia, April 8, 1755, and it was not until July 8 that he reached the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne. The fatal battle followed. So great consternation succeeded the unlooked-for disaster that "Braddock's Defeat" is one of the best known incidents in American colonial history.

The frontier was left unprotected. Under the guidance of French leaders, as well as spurred on by the remembrance of their own wrongs, the Indians pitilessly wreaked vengeance on the whites. They systematically ravaged not only the western border of Pennsylvania, but the whole frontier of the British colonies. In Pennsylvania the Indians came through the gaps in the mountains and encamped on the Susquehanna about thirty miles above John Harris's ferry (Harrisburg) and from that point ravaged Cumberland, Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton counties, and came to within fifty miles of Philadelphia. Some Indians, converted to Christianity by the Moravians, were massacred at Gnaden-

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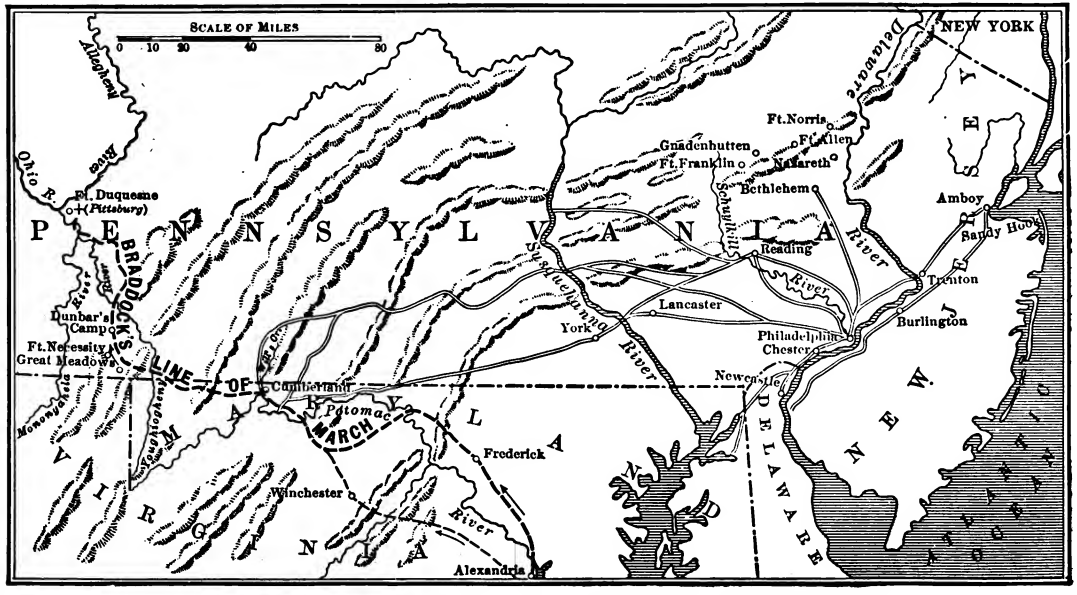

ROUTE OF BRADDOCK'S MARCH FROM ALEXANDRIA TO FORT DUQUESNE
After Mitchell's Map, 1755

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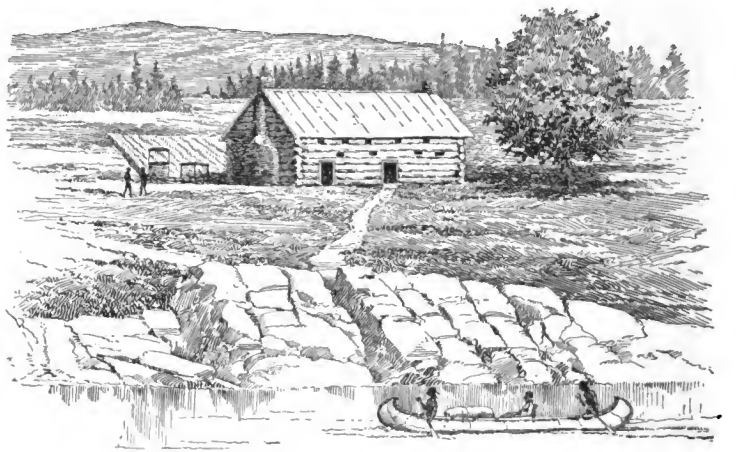
hutten for their fidelity to the whites. The Delawares visited their old hunting grounds at "the forks of the Delaware," and terribly revenged themselves for the "Walking Purchase" and other frauds.[1]



HOME OF JOHN HARRIS AT HARRIS'S FERRY
The house was built before 1720

Appropriations for Military Defense. — Those who escaped the Indians fled eastward begging for aid. The Assembly at once appropriated £50,000 for the King's use, and voted to raise it by taxing all estates, real and personal, throughout the province, including the estates of the proprietaries, which had become extremely valuable. The governor would not agree to this bill, claiming the proprietary estates should be excepted. In vain the Assembly offered to tax only the private estates of the Penns. A new election took place, and notwithstanding the greatest

[1] It is said that among those who were murdered were several members of the family of William Marshall, one of Thomas Penn's swift walkers.

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efforts of the governor's party, the popular party carried the day. Two-thirds of the new Assembly were Quakers, and the other ten members, including Franklin, were in general sympathy with them, except in regard to military measures. A new bill granting £60,000 for the King's use was passed. This was similar to the other bill except that it stated that if the proprietary estates were declared exempt by law the taxes collected from them would be refunded. So great was the condemnation of the proprietaries both in Pennsylvania and in England, that they gave £5,000 for defense. When the Assembly heard of this it reduced the appropriation by that amount and exempted the estates.[1]

Flag of the Province of Pennsylvania
Designed by Franklin, 1747

The money was chiefly spent in erecting a string of forts and block-houses from the Delaware River along the Kittatinny or Blue Mountains to the Maryland border. Beyond the Kittatinny Mountains forts were built at such places as seemed best fitted for the purpose of protection.[2]

A Militia Law Passed. — A militia law was also passed for those "willing and desirous" of bearing arms. This was going further than many of the Quakers approved, yet it was not far enough for many persons, for a petition was sent to the English Government representing in strong language the defenseless state of the province. One method proposed

[1] Even this was marked by the selfishness of Thomas Penn, for the £5000 was to be collected out of the arrears of quit-rents due the proprietors, and it was a long time before it was all paid.

[2] About one hundred forts and stockades were built.

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for keeping out of the Assembly those who objected to warlike measures was the imposition of a test oath.[1] But the desired object came about in another way.

The governor and council in the spring of 1756 issued a declaration of war against the Delawares and Shawnees in which rewards in money were offered for Indian scalps "produced as evidence of their being killed."[2] This was too much for the Quakers in the Assembly. Six resigned, several refused re-election, and four resigned later, leaving only twelve. Strong influence from the Friends in England as well as at home, was brought to bear on all Friends, discouraging them from holding office. From this time they almost disappeared from political life, though they continued to exercise much influence. It must be acknowledged that their course on the whole was creditable.

Except in the matter of warlike measures there was little change in the Assembly. It advocated the same popular measures as before, and under the able leadership of Franklin, kept up a continual struggle for the preservation and extension of popular government.

Frontier Warfare. — In August, 1756, an expedition of provincial troops under Colonel Armstrong surprised the Indian village of Kittanning, about thirty miles above Fort Duquesne. As the Indians would not surrender, the village was set on fire and most of them were either shot or burned to death. Large quantities of powder, shot, and other warlike stores were captured.

[1] This would bar the Quakers from the assembly altogether.

[2] The notice reads: "For the scalp of every male Indian above the age of twelve years, produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of 130 pieces of eight (about $130) . . . for the scalp of every Indian woman . . . 50 pieces of eight." This offer was to white men not in the pay of the province. To those in the pay, and to friendly *Indians* half as much was offered.

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Meanwhile the Quakers had formed the Friendly Association,[1] the purpose of which was to try to restore good feeling with the Delawares and Shawnees. The Friends expressed their readiness to expend in this work of pacification "more than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected

THE OLD MILL AT BETHLEHEM, PA.
Built in 1751, and burned in 1869

to require." Through their efforts a conference was brought about at Easton in 1756. Teedyuscung, a noted chief, came, and stamping his foot on the ground, exclaimed, "The very ground on which we stand was dishonestly taken from us." Yet he became a Christian and used all his efforts toward securing peace.

Christian Frederick Post. — One of the incidents of these days was the expedition of Christian Frederick Post, a devoted Moravian missionary, who, in the service of the Friendly Association, visited the Indians in Ohio, among whom he had lived for several years. He went unarmed, with a price on his head offered by the French, and through the confi-

[1] Its full title was, "The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures."

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dence reposed in him by the Indians succeeded in persuading them to cease hostilities and take sides with the English.

Further Quarrels with the Governor. — Governor Morris was superseded by William Denny (1756), who was followed by James Hamilton in 1759, but there was little difference in the condition of affairs.

One reason for the continual trouble between the Assembly and the lieutenant or deputy governors was the fact that they were paid by the Assembly, though they were appointed by the proprietaries to represent their interests and were bound by their instructions. The consequence was that the Assembly withheld the salary when it pleased, and the governor had no redress.

Franklin Sent to England; Assembly Victorious. — So strong was the feeling in the Assembly and in the popular party that in 1757 Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin were appointed commissioners to carry in person an appeal to the government. Norris declined the appointment and Franklin went alone. Soon after his arrival in England Franklin remonstrated with the proprietaries, with the result that some time later they wrote a letter to the Assembly reasserting their rights. In reply to this the Assembly passed a tax bill in which the estates of the proprietaries were taxed as others. This bill the governor signed on the ground of the necessities of the province.[1]

The whole matter now came before the Privy Council in England. After hearing Franklin, who conducted the popular side with great skill, and the proprietaries, the council decided against the latter, Franklin having agreed, on behalf of the

[1] The true reason being that the Assembly voted to allow him £1500 for his support, it being understood he would sign the bill. At the present day this would be called "graft."

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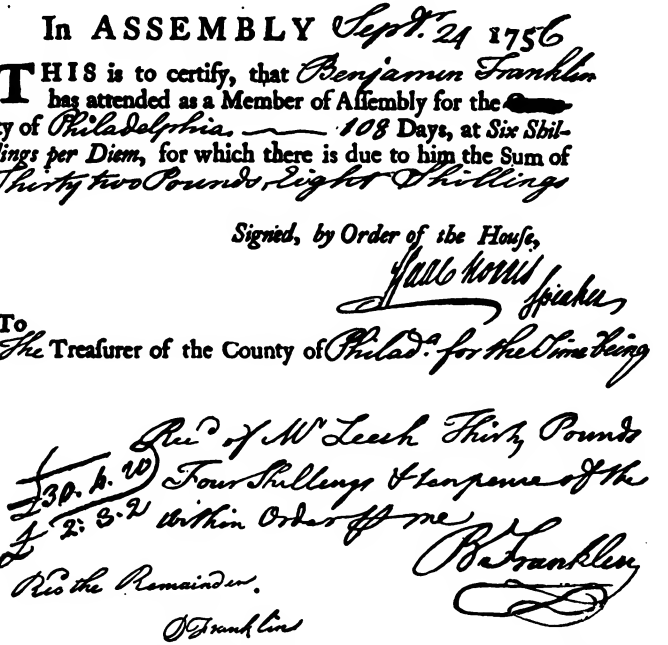
Assembly, that the taxation should be fair and just, and that the governor's consent should be needful for the spending of money raised. It was a great victory for the Assembly.[1]


In ASSEMBLY Sept. 21 1756

THIS is to certify, that Benjamin Franklin has attended as a Member of Assembly for the City of Philadelphia 108 Days, at *Six Shillings per Diem*, for which there is due to him the Sum of Thirty two Pounds Eight Shillings

Signed, by Order of the House,

To The Treasurer of the County of Philad.a for the Time being

Rec.d of M.r Leech Thirty Pounds Four Shillings & Tenpence of the within Order

Rec.d the Remainder.

FACSIMILE OF FRANKLIN'S CERTIFICATE AS A MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY

Many historians comment severely on the Pennsylvania Assembly for giving so little financial assistance for the purpose of defense, and spending its time in wrangling with the proprietaries. The charge, though often repeated, is

[1] It was while Franklin was in England (1759) that he inspired and partly wrote a small book called *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*. It is a partisan, political work, written for a special purpose, but has again and again been appealed to as an authority, thereby perpetuating many wrong or one-sided statements.

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an unjust one,[1] and the fact that important principles were at stake is overlooked. While some blame is doubtless proper, its course was rather deserving of credit. Franklin expressed the truer view when he said, "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety."

Western Expedition of General Forbes; Fort Pitt. — English successes on and near Lake Ontario had cut off French supplies from Fort Duquesne, and the time being thought favorable, an expedition under General John Forbes[2] was sent in 1758 to reduce it. George Washington was one of his aides, and also Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer. Forbes soon fell ill and during the rest of the campaign was carried in a litter. He was a very different man from Braddock, and exercised the greatest caution. He endeavored to secure the Indians as allies, and though not very successful in Pennsylvania, the Ohio Indians were detached from the French through the aid of the mission of Christian Frederick Post. A small force sent forward under a Major Grant was surprised near Fort Duquesne and cut to pieces, but this was the only disaster. Forbes reached Loyalhanna in November, and hearing that the French were short of supplies and practically defenseless, pushed on, but before his advance company reached Fort Duquesne the sound of a heavy explosion was heard. The French had blown up their fort and had fled. Forbes took possession of the ruins and named the place Fort Pitt, in honor of William Pitt, the great Englishman, who was directing the affairs of the British empire. From this the name Pittsburgh

[1] As a matter of fact "between 1755 and 1766 the Assembly granted nearly £600,000 for military purposes."

[2] He is sometimes called Joseph Forbes.

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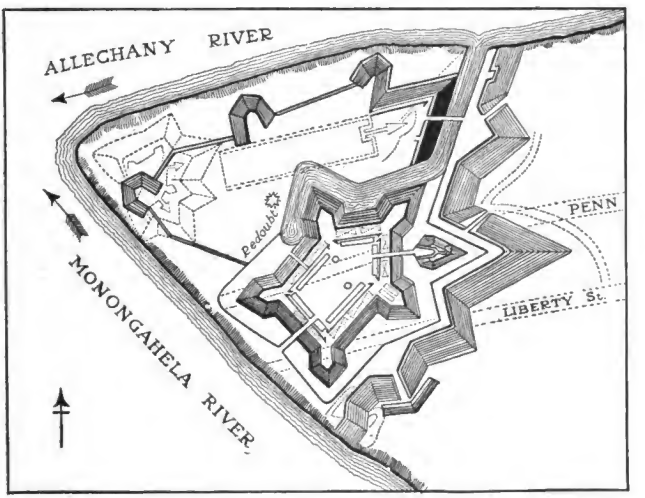
comes.[1] Forbes returned to Philadelphia and died in the spring of 1759. The capture of Quebec by Wolfe in 1759, and the subsequent success of the English, put an end to



OUTLINE OF FORT PITT, 1766

The position and shape of Fort Duquesne are shown by the dotted outline at the left. The size of the first Fort Pitt is shown by the dotted outline in the lower center. The original of this map is preserved in the British Museum

the French empire in America in 1760, though the treaty of peace was not signed until 1763.

Conspiracy of Pontiac. — The French were now no longer to be feared, and the English colonists felt at ease. But a new danger came upon them. The Algonkin Indians had from the early days been close allies of the French, and foes of the English. The Algonkin tribes were greatly disturbed at the English success. The French were chiefly traders, but the English were settlers as well, which meant permanent

[1] The first town of Pittsburgh was laid out in 1760.

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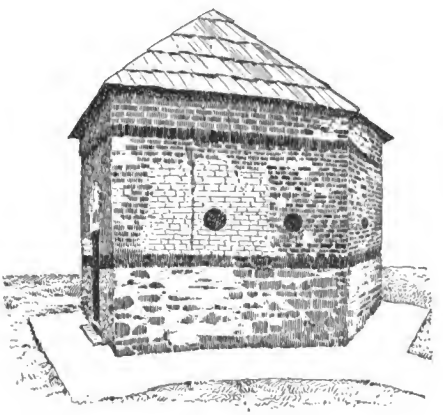
occupation of the Indian territories. Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, who had been an ally of the French, realized the situation, and believed that if the Indians could be united the English might be driven back. By his extraordinary ability he persuaded a number of tribes to unite and make a determined effort (1763). Many English posts were surprised and captured, and it seemed as if all the frontier would again be exposed to the horrors of Indian attacks. The blow fell heavily on the Pennsylvania border. With the exception of some forts, practically all Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna was abandoned by the settlers, who fled eastward.



BOUQUET'S BLOCK HOUSE, PITTSBURGH

Built in 1764; restored by the Pittsburgh, D. A. R.

Bouquet's Expedition. — Fort Pitt held out, though closely besieged, but it might fall at any moment. A relief force was sent out under Colonel Bouquet, who had been one of the aides of General Forbes. The little body reached a point about twenty-five miles from Fort Pitt, and narrowly escaped Braddock's fate. But Bouquet was a better officer and the threatened defeat was changed into a victory. Fort Pitt was relieved, and for a time the frontier was safe.[1]

[1] Pontiac was unable to keep the tribes together, and the conspiracy failed. He himself was assassinated by a fellow Indian in 1769.

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Governor John Penn. — John Penn, the proprietary, was appointed governor in 1763. With the exception of a short period (1771–1773) he remained in office until 1776, when Pennsylvania joined in the Declaration of Independence. He was greeted on his appointment with many congratulations, for there was still a feeling of loyalty to any one bearing the name of Penn, but it cannot be said that he in any degree checked the growing feeling against a proprietary government.[1]

The "Paxton Boys'" Outrage at Conestoga. — During the first year of his administration the outrage of the "Paxton Boys"[2] took place.

The effect of the Indian outbreak and the ravages which followed was to arouse an implacable feeling of revenge in the minds of the frontiersmen. Many of them were Scotch-Irishmen, easily aroused and eager to retaliate for wrongs, real or fancied. The accounts which have come down to us of the tragedies which took place are so full of personal feeling that it is hard to discover the exact facts. However, it seems clear that whatever wrongs and cruelties may have been received at the hands of some Indians, these wrongs were cruelly avenged on many wholly innocent persons.

There was a remnant of a tribe of Conestoga Indians at Conestoga, only twenty in all, including women and children. They supported themselves by making brooms and baskets for sale to the white settlers. It is quite likely that

[1] John Penn (governor and proprietary) was the eldest son of Richard Penn, third son of William Penn and Hannah Callowhill; he was born in 1729 and died in 1796. He left no children. He was thirty-four years old when appointed governor.

[2] This is more correctly Paxtang, and is frequently so written. Paxton or Paxtang township was in the upper part of what was then Lancaster County. Harrisburg was the center of the district.

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some of them were not very good characters, and it is possible, though it was never proved, that one of them had committed murder. But the fact that they were Indians was enough to make some fifty men, "Paxton Boys," fall upon them when most of the men were away, burn their huts, and kill all they could find — three men, two women, and a boy. The other Conestogas, who were absent from the village, were taken by the Sheriff of Lancaster County and lodged for safety in Lancaster jail. A fortnight later the same party of "Paxton Boys" rode without disguise in the daytime into Lancaster, broke open the jail, and murdered with their hatchets the remaining fourteen, including women and children. The excitement was intense. Though Governor Penn issued proclamations calling upon the magistrates to arrest the murderers, the magistrates dared not issue warrants for their arrest, though the culprits were well known. No legal action was ever taken, for their neighbors justified and supported the actors in the tragedy.

Moravian Indians. — Shortly before this about one hundred and fifty Christian Indians,[1] converted by the Moravians, were brought from the Lehigh region to Philadelphia for safety. Their lives had been threatened by the whites, who would make no distinction between friendly and hostile natives, but were determined, as far as lay in their power, to exterminate the race. The women, children, and sick were transported in wagons, and it is related that as they passed along "curses came from nearly every hamlet, travellers greeted them with imprecations, and in Germantown only a heavy rain saved them from a gathering mob." They were housed on Province Island.

[1] They were Delawares, Shawnees, and of other tribes. It is possible also that there was some fear that they would join the hostile Indians.

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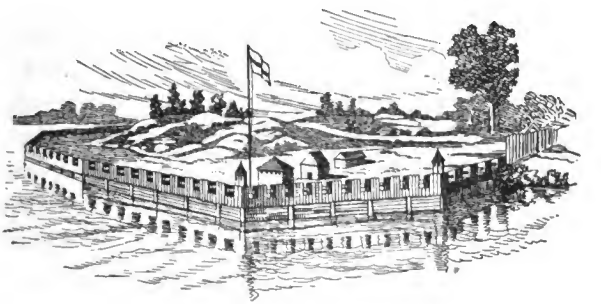
Philadelphia Threatened. —It was rumored that the "Paxton Boys" were coming to Philadelphia to repeat their action at Lancaster. It was determined to send the Indians to New York so they could be under the protection of Sir William Johnson among the Six Nations. But when, under a military escort, they reached Amboy, Governor Colden of New York refused to allow them to enter his province, so the unhappy fugitives were compelled to return to Phi'a-



THE ASSOCIATION BATTERY, PHILADELPHIA

delphia. They were given quarters in barracks, and their needs were supplied by the Quakers.

The news of the return of the Indians convinced the "Paxton Boys" that they could repeat the scene of Lancaster. A body of two hundred or more frontiersmen started for Philadelphia. Rumor magnified their numbers four or five times, and the Philadelphians were greatly alarmed. At the request of Governor Penn the Assembly passed a Riot Act. The people were called upon to take arms, and extensive preparations were made for defence. The court house and other public buildings were opened for the benefit of the volunteers, and even the great Friends' meeting-house was made use of. Several alarms were given, but the enemy did not appear.

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Heavy rains had so swollen the Schuylkill River that the attacking party could not get across, and so went up the river to Swedes' Ford, and approached Philadelphia by way of Germantown. It was soon seen that there were about only two hundred men in the party. Governor Penn sent Franklin and others to meet the men and learn their intentions. The men were not so eager to carry out their plan as they had been, and they were soon persuaded to disperse, Franklin agreeing that unarmed representatives should enter the city and point out the alleged murderers among the Indians. This agreement was carried out, but no Indian could be identified. A well-arranged paper was presented, setting forth various grievances of the frontiersmen, and charging that there would be no safety for the border settlements if Indians were allowed near or in them, for all Indians were perfidious. They also complained that the reward for scalps had been withdrawn.

The poor Indians had suffered much. Smallpox and dysentery broke out among them and fifty-six out of one hundred and fifty died. Peace having been restored, the remnant returned to the Lehigh region in 1765.

Efforts to make Pennsylvania a Crown Colony. — The disputes between the Assembly and the governor continued, until the idea of petitioning the government to make Pennsylvania a crown colony gained headway, and the Assembly issued an address to the people setting forth the evils of existing conditions. When the Assembly met after an adjournment, believing that the act would be supported by public opinion, it issued an address to the king reciting the course of evils, and begging him to pay the proprietaries for any loss they might sustain, and resume the government.

The publication of the address had a rather curious effect.

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The Presbyterians opposed the petition, for, being responsible for many of the late disorders in the province, they feared that their present freedom might be restrained; the Episcopalians also opposed it, because the proprietaries, now members of the Church of England, were friendly to them; the Quakers and Germans were divided, the greater part supporting the petition, while others, fearing an established church and a new charter, opposed it.

The issue in the election of 1764 was on this question. Though the proprietary party gained slightly, the popular party had a two thirds majority in the Assembly. Franklin was sent to England to lay the matter before the British government, but after the heat of the election had passed by soberer counsels prevailed, and Franklin was instructed to move with caution, and to take care that none of the privileges of the people should be lost.

JOHN DICKINSON

John Dickinson; Joseph Galloway. — Two men whose influence afterwards was very great came into prominence in this political contest, — John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway. John Dickinson was born in 1732 in Maryland, and was taken when a child into Delaware and there carefully educated; he studied law ten years in the offices of one of the best lawyers of Philadelphia, and then four years in London. He returned to Pennsylvania in 1757 and very soon took a prominent part. In his clearness of view and of statement, he stands next to Franklin. He

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came of a Quaker family and always was warmly attached to that body, though not technically a member.[1]

He was fully aware of the evils of proprietary rule, yet believed that control by the crown might be worse. He therefore supported the proprietary side, asking among other questions, whether the crown had not supported the proprietaries in their worst acts. The subsequent career of Dickinson will be noticed in succeeding chapters.

Joseph Galloway, like Dickinson, was a native of Maryland, and came to Philadelphia when quite a young man, and successfully practiced law. In the Assembly he led the anti-proprietary party and drew up the resolutions referred to above. Like Dickinson, he also took an active part in the affairs of the province.[2]

Franklin Presents the Address to the Council. — Franklin found that the proprietaries refused to make any concessions, so he presented the address and sundry private petitions before the Council in London, by which they were indefinitely postponed.[3] The following year (1765) the ministry tried to get the proprietaries to surrender the government, but without avail. Thomas Penn wrote, "I am determined not to yield to any offer . . . I am not to be frightened into compliance by Mr. Franklin or any of his tools." And so far as the object of Franklin's mission was concerned nothing was accomplished, except that the proprietaries instructed Governor Penn to do his best to settle the disputes between the factions in Pennsylvania. This was now an easy task, for

[1] It was through his efforts that the Friends' Boarding School in Chester County, known as Westtown, was founded in 1799. To this school he and his wife gave a considerable sum.

[2] He was afterward speaker of the Assembly, 1766–1774. He took the royal side in the Revolution, and died in 1803 in England.

[3] The reason was given that the king had not the power to grant the requests.

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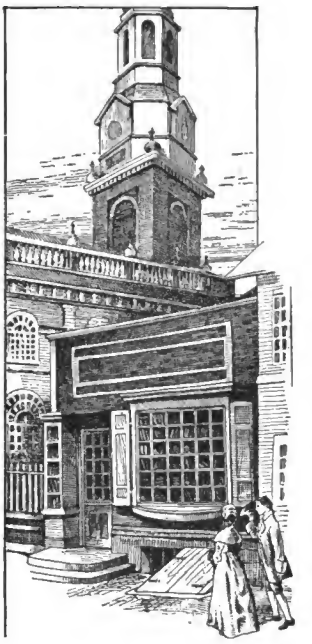
the passing of the Stamp Act brought before them a new and far more important issue than their grievances against the proprietary government.



FRANKLIN'S BOOK SHOP
Next to Christ Church,
Philadelphia

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CHAPTER XI

BOUNDARY DISPUTES

Maryland Boundary; Mason and Dixon. — An agreement between the Penns and Charles, the fifth Lord Baltimore, concerning the boundary of their provinces had been reached in 1732. This was confirmed by the English Court of Chancery in 1750; but ten years were to elapse before various minor disputes were settled, and three years more before actual steps were taken to carry out the agreements and decisions. On the 15th of November, 1763, two men arrived in Pennsylvania whose names in later years were to become almost as familiar as any in American history — Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. They were the two civil engineers who were to run the dividing line between Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Running Mason and Dixon's Line. — It took a long time to draw the circle around New Castle, and determine the lines called for by the agreement, but finally the boundary was fixed at 39° 43′ 26″ north latitude. The line was then run westward. Every five miles was to be marked with a stone having the coat of arms of Penn on one side and that of Lord Baltimore on the other. At the end of every mile between these stones, smaller stones were to be placed having *P* on one side and *M* on the other. All these stones came from England. This was done for about one hundred and thirty-two miles, then heaps of stones marked the line as far as the summit of the Alleghanies, and beyond that point posts were

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used. On account of the fear of the Indians, who objected to the work, the line was carried not farther than about two hundred and forty-four miles west of the Delaware River in 1767, other engineers took up the work in 1783 and completed it in 1785. Thus was settled a controversy which had lasted nearly a century. The boundary soon became known as Mason and Dixon's Line and was, for the Eastern States until the Civil War, the division between slave and free territory.

Face showing Penn Arms Face showing Baltimore Arms

PENNSYLVANIA–MARYLAND FIVE–MILE BOUNDARY STONE

Virginia Boundary.—But this was not the only difficulty in regard to boundaries. Virginia claimed, under the indefinite terms of her charter, much of the territory of western Pennsylvania, including the site of Pittsburgh. There was considerable trouble between the frontiersmen on both sides, and the dispute was not settled until 1779.

It was then agreed that Mason and Dixon's Line should be prolonged to the extent of five degrees of longitude from

[1] Mason and Dixon returned to Philadelphia in 1767, and, receiving an honorable discharge, returned to England. The whole transaction cost the Penns, between 1760 and 1768, 34,200 pounds Pennsylvania currency.

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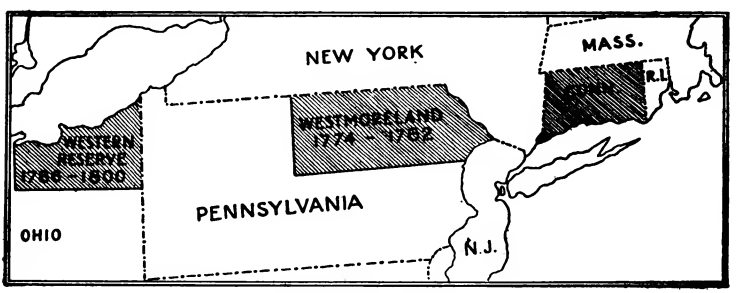
the eastern starting point, and from the end of such line a meridian line should be drawn due north to the northern boundary of Pennsylvania. The survey was made by David Rittenhouse in 1784.

Connecticut Claims. — A more difficult boundary question arose in connection with what was known as the Connecticut Claims. Like other cases, the trouble was due to the lack of accurate geographical knowledge of North America, and to the vague terms of the charters. Thus the South



CONNECTICUT CLAIMS

Sea, or Pacific Ocean, was often made the western boundary of a grant of territory.[1] This was the case in the charter of Connecticut. By reason of this provision she claimed that the territory granted her in 1662 extended from the New York line to the Pacific.[2] In accordance with these claims a company was formed which proceeded to treat with the Indians for the sale of lands in the northern part of Pennsylvania. A purchase was made in 1754, but as the lands had already been sold several times to the Penns the title was not worth much even as Indian titles went. Many settlers came from Connecticut

[1] This was so in the charters of Massachusetts, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

[2] By the treaty of 1763 the Mississippi River was made the western boundary of the British possessions.

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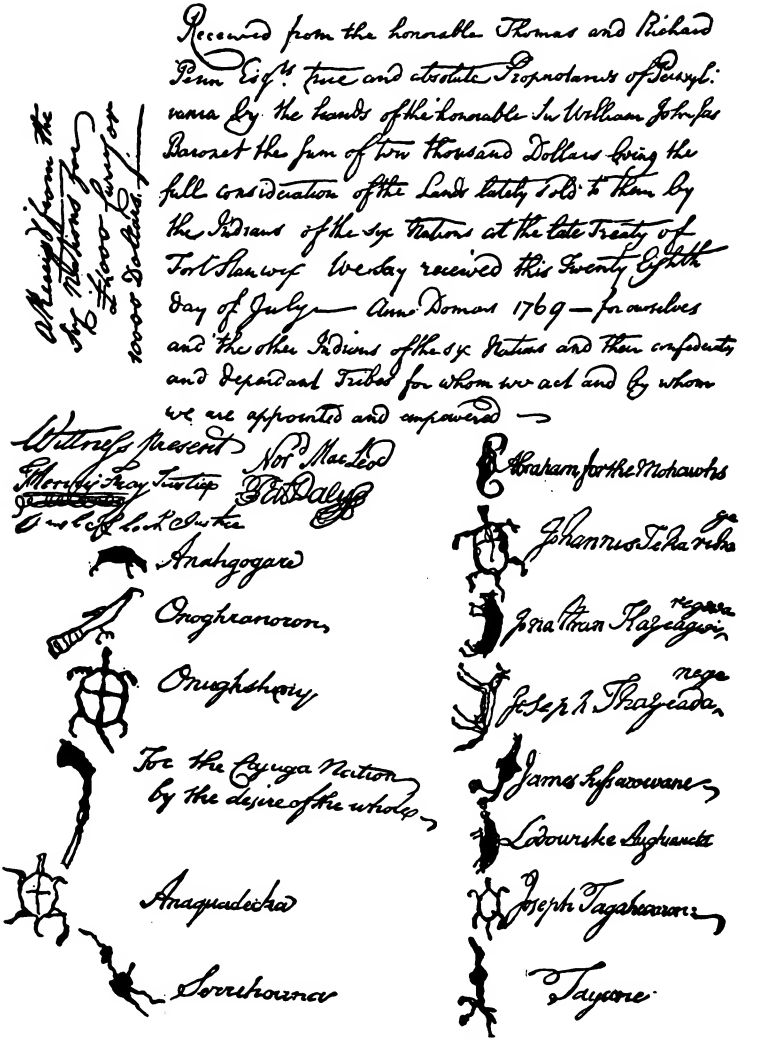

INDIAN RECEIPT FOR TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS IN PAYMENT FOR LAND SOLD BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SIX NATIONS TO THE DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM PENN IN 1769

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and erected houses and other buildings. The Penns remonstrated with the governor of Connecticut but without effect.

"Penamite and Yankee War"; Settlement of Claims.— The land thus taken up by the Connecticut settlers included the beautiful and rich valley of the Wyoming. The old Delaware chief, Teedyuscung, who lived in the valley, protested against the intrusion. Not long after he was burnt to death in his house. This deed, really perpetrated by Iroquois, was believed to have been the work of the whites. In 1763 a party of Delawares in revenge attacked the white settlements and killed thirty or more of the colonists.

The region was desolate until 1769, when the proprietaries leased land to settlers in the disputed territory, provided they would defend their holdings. The Connecticut men answered this defiance by sending out forty settlers who besieged the block-house in which the Pennsylvanians were sheltered. The Connecticut men, in their turn, built a fort, called the "Forty Fort." This was successfully attacked by a Pennsylvania force under a sheriff, and the defenders taken to the Easton jail. But they obtained bail and returned to Wyoming. These were typical incidents of a petty warfare which lasted for about two years and is known as the "Penamite and Yankee War." The Connecticut men soon came in large numbers, and in 1771 the Penn party was driven out and the Connecticut men had possession.

Little or no effort was made by the proprietaries to enforce their claims until 1775, when Governor Penn sent five hundred men to drive out the Connecticut settlers. The attempt was unsuccessful, but, as the war of the Revolution had begun, more important issues attracted attention. The Continental Congress passed resolutions that the quarrel

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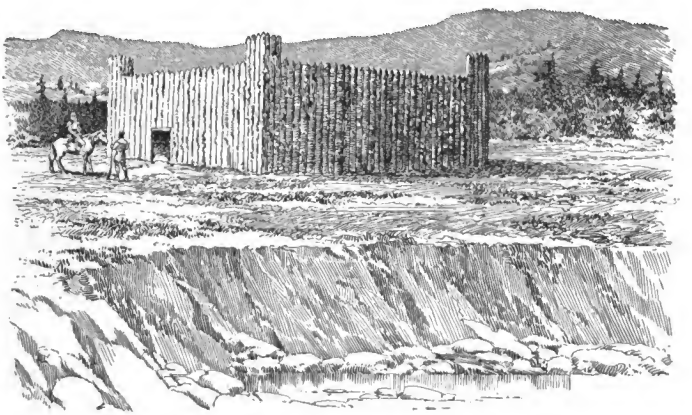
should be suspended until the claims could be legally settled. The trial came up before the commissioners appointed by the Congress and the question was decided in favor of Pennsylvania in 1782.[1] This decision, however, did not adjust everything, and it was not until 1789 that the Connecticut settlers were given titles to their lands on the payment of a small sum per acre.



FORTY FORT, NEAR WILKES-BARRE
Built in 1770, and rebuilt in 1777

New York Boundary.—There was also difficulty with New York in adjusting the northern boundary of Pennsylvania. At first, owing to the small number of immigrants and the wild, unsettled character of much of the country, the location of the northern boundary was not a matter of great importance, but about 1740 the question began to attract attention, and Governor Hamilton in 1743 claimed territory

[1] This incident is interesting as being one of the first steps toward the establishment of a Supreme Court for the United States.

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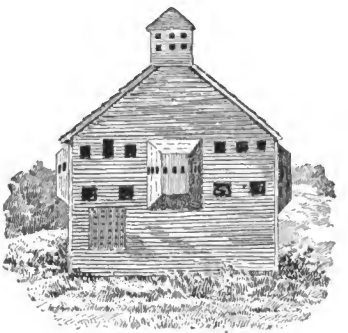
which would give Pennsylvania a large part of Western New York.[1]

There was considerable discussion, and claims and counter claims were made. In 1775 commissioners appointed by the governors of both provinces agreed upon a stone on an island in the Delaware River which should be the starting point. In 1785 commissioners were appointed to run a boundary line, but the line was not satisfactory, and finally in 1789 both States agreed upon 42° north latitude as the boundary. But as this would give Pennsylvania scarcely any coast line on Lake Erie, she bought from the Indians with the permission of Congress all right to the small triangle so familiar on the maps of the State, and in 1791 bought from the United States for about $150,000 the national interests in the triangle. This gave Pennsylvania as clear and unimpeded a way to the Great Lakes on the north as she had to the ocean on the south, thus carrying out the purpose of William Penn in the earliest days of the province.[2]



FORT LE BOEUF
Erie County. Built in 1796

[1] This claim was based on the clause in Penn's charter giving him three degrees of latitude. So little was the geography of America understood even in 1743 that Hamilton said that he believed 43° was south of Albany, whereas it really is about twenty-five miles north of that city.

[2] The Erie Triangle was claimed both by Massachusetts and New York, but was ceded by them in 1780–1784 to the United States.

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CHAPTER XII

THE STAMP ACT, AND THE EARLY STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION

Growth of Independent Feeling. — In the eighteenth century and in those preceding it, the general idea was that a colony existed chiefly for the benefit of the mother country. All legislation relating to colonies was shaped in accordance with this view, and any action taken in the colonies was likely to be, and generally was, suppressed if any injury to the mother country was supposed to be threatened. England, therefore, in the treatment of her American colonies was acting in accordance with the general opinion of the time.

The long distance from England, the difficulty of communication between the various colonies themselves, the custom of having colonial representative assemblies, and the frequent necessity of meeting emergencies, all tended to the growth of independence of feeling and of action, and to self-reliance. The idea of a possible separation from England, however, was of slow growth, and had it not been for the ill-advised measures of the king and council, and of Parliament, it is likely that independence would have been postponed for many years.

Effect of the Navigation Acts. — The old Navigation Acts forbade commerce except in English ships from English ports, through English hands. This meant that, legally, there could be no trade between the West Indies and North America except from the islands owned by England.

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The chief articles imported from the West Indies were sugar and molasses, especially the latter, which was in great demand for the manufacture of rum, a product extensively used.[1] For many years the Navigation Acts were loosely enforced, and a vast amount of smuggling was carried on; so much so that it was considered an excusable offense, if indeed an offense at all. But in 1764 the British ministry resolved to impose new taxes upon the colonies and to enforce the Navigation Acts. Smuggling was to be rigidly put down, and the officers of the navy were ordered to be on the lookout for smugglers. This action threatened with destruction the illegal trade of the colonies with the French and Spanish West Indies; it fell heaviest on Massachusetts, but Pennsylvania also suffered severely. The Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1764 sent a circular letter to the other colonies condemning the action of the British government. In response to this the Pennsylvania Assembly adopted instructions to be sent to the agent of Pennsylvania in London, directing him to do his best with the ministry and Parliament, "to prevent any such impositions and taxes, or any other impositions and taxes on the colonists . . . inasmuch as they neither are, nor can be represented, under their present circumstances in the Legislature."[2]

Taxation of the Colonists; Stamp Act. — The object of imposing taxes was to defray in part the expenses of the late war, and to support a standing army for the defense of the colonies — both plausible reasons, for the results of the war were highly beneficial to the colonists.

The method chosen to collect the revenue was by means

[1] Sufficient molasses could not be obtained from the English islands.

[2] This is one of the earliest statements of the claim afterwards so often made that "taxation without representation" is unjust.

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of stamps to be placed upon all legal documents, newspapers, almanacs, etc.; hence the act is known as the Stamp Act of 1765.[1] The Act attracted comparatively little notice in Parliament,[2] and even Benjamin Franklin, though he opposed the Act, seems at first to have had no idea of the bitter opposition in America. Indeed, he is said to have obtained for one of his friends, John Hughes, the position of stamp distributor.

Opposition to the Stamp Act. — The Act was opposed in all the colonies. The Pennsylvania Assembly adopted resolutions reciting what the province had done in the past in the way of contributing to the royal needs, and expressed its purpose of continuing the practice, but claimed that the people of the province were entitled to all the rights of Englishmen, and that one of these essential rights was that they should not be taxed except with their own consent. At the same time they chose four delegates [3] to a Colonial Congress proposed by Massachusetts to consider what action should be taken by the colonies in regard to the Stamp Act.

Stamp Act in Pennsylvania. — The ship bearing the stamps and stamped paper, accompanied by a naval vessel, reached Gloucester Point in the Delaware in October, 1765. As soon as the news reached Philadelphia the flags on the vessels at the wharves were put at half-mast, the city bells were tolled, and crowds gathered in the streets. At noon a great assembly was held near the state house and addresses were

[1] The stamps were impressions on the paper. They varied in value from a half penny to twelve pounds.

[2] Isaac Barré made the only strong speech against it. His name was perpetuated by the grateful Pennsylvanians in the name Wilkes-Barré.

[3] The delegates were Joseph Fox, speaker of the Assembly, John Dickinson, George Bryan, and John Morton.

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made denouncing the act as unconstitutional and void. John Hughes, under pressure, agreed not to sell stamps. The newspapers printed their own obituary notices, and for about six months little or no legal business was transacted, as stamped paper could not be had, and lawyers doubted the validity of unstamped documents.

As John Hughes declined to receive any stamps or stamped paper on the ground that he had not received his commission, Governor Penn sent all the stamps on board the naval vessel, "there being," he said, "no fort or place of security where I could lodge them on the shore."

The proceedings in Pennsylvania, though determined, were much more orderly than in most of the colonies. "Riotings, window-breakings, house-burnings, and personal indignities were visited upon the stamp distributors from New Hampshire to South Carolina."

Stamp Act Congress. — The Stamp Act Congress, as it is known, met in New York in October (1765) with delegates from nine colonies.[1] It adopted a petition to the king and a memorial to Parliament, mild in tone but clear in expressing the view of the colonists that "they, in common with other Englishmen, enjoy the undoubted right to have no taxes imposed upon them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representative." As they were only represented in their own assemblies the latter had the sole right of taxing them. "The Stamp Act Congress was the first general assembly to be held by concerted colonial action without any prompting from royal officials."

Non-Importation Agreements. — Another step was the

[1] In Virginia and North Carolina no Assemblies had met since the call for a Congress had been issued; New Hampshire and Georgia gave assurance that they would join in a petition for the repeal of the Act.

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adoption of a Non-Importation Agreement, for it was thought that some pressure that would be felt must be applied, and the means adopted was to refuse to import or to use English goods so long as the Act was in force. It was not long before an agreement to this effect was signed by about four

The TIMES are Dreadful Doleful Difmal Dolorous and DOLLAR-LESS.

Thursday, October 31. 1765 THE NUMB 1195

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Reſurrection to LIFE again.

I am ſorry to be obliged to acquaint my readers that as the Stamp Act is feared to be obligatory upon us after the *firſt of November* enſuing (The Fatal To-morrow), The publiſher of this paper, unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to ſtop awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any methods can be found to elude the chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable ſlavery, which it is hoped, from the laſt repreſentation now made againſt that act, may be effected. Mean while I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every individual of my Subſcribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately diſcharge their reſpective Arrears, that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper whenever an opening for that purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Advertisements to the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

A PHILADELPHIA NEWSPAPER ON THE STAMP ACT

A facsimile about one-third the size of the original

hundred persons, including the most prominent merchants of Philadelphia.

This movement was general throughout the colonies, and English trade fell off to such an alarming extent that many petitions for the repeal of the Act were presented to Parliament by English merchants, manufacturers, and others.

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Franklin, who was summoned to give evidence before the House of Commons, told his examiners that it was hopeless to try to enforce the Act; an army could not do it, though it might cause a rebellion.

Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Moved by these things, and by the great influence of Pitt, the Act was repealed in March, 1766. But it was accompanied by what is known as the Declaratory Act, which set forth the claim of Parliament to pass laws "to bind the colonies and peoples of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

The news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received in all the colonies with great rejoicing. At Philadelphia the captain of the vessel which brought the news was given a "gold-laced cocked-hat"; barrels of beer were placed on tap free to the public; a dinner of three hundred plates was given in the state house; the king's birthday, which came a few days later (June 4), was celebrated by a dinner on the banks of the Schuylkill, where "four hundred and thirty persons dined at tables fixed in a beautiful grove near the river."

New Taxes for the Colonies. — In the rejoicing over the repeal, the Declaratory Act was overlooked. But Parliament soon showed that it meant to exercise the power it claimed. New bills injurious to colonial trade and interests were passed in a few months.[1] One act legalized "Writs of Assistance,"[2] and imposed taxes on "glass, paper, colors, and teas." The revenue thus obtained was to be partly used in paying the salaries of the colonial governors and judges.

[1] As these were largely planned by Charles Townshend, they are generally known as the Townshend Acts.

[2] A "Writ of Assistance" was a warrant, "which allowed the holder to search any house or ship, to break down doors, open trunks and boxes, and seize goods at will." They were employed in England.

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Up to this time the colonial legislatures had paid the salaries, but by this law these officers would be independent of the people. Again Massachusetts was foremost in resisting. She sent a circular letter to the other colonies as in 1764.

New Non-Importation Agreements. — Pennsylvania responded by non-importation and non-consumption agreements. The Philadelphia merchants now set forth their grievances, not only about this taxation, but also concerning the restrictions upon trade. In accordance with these restrictions, that seem so unjust to us, the colonists were forbidden to carry wool or woolen goods from one colony to another; they were required to take all American exports to some British port and reship from there; they were required to carry "Portugal and Spanish wines, fruits, etc.," first to England, pay a heavy duty on them there and then reship them at great expense. Such legislation as this helps to explain why there grew up so strong a resentment against England in the years succeeding the French and Indian War (1755–1763).

Pamphlets and Addresses. — The Pennsylvania Assembly issued an address to the king, probably written by John Dickinson, in which was stated in strong but respectful language their right as Englishmen to levy their own taxes, and concluded by saying that if the House of Commons persisted in their course, it would leave "the one [the English people] in possession of all those rights which are necessary to the most perfect political liberty, and the other [the colonists] bereaved of that which alone constituted the foundation and security of all their other privileges."

The Farmer's Letters. — It was an age of pamphlet writing, and many were written against the British acts and principles. The ablest of these were written by John Dickin-

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son, and were known as *A Farmer's Letters*.[1] They were begun in 1768, and had a wide circulation throughout the colonies and also in England. They stated in a clear, though formal style, the colonial grievances, and, better than any other papers, expressed the real feelings and opinions of the colonists. Dickinson was a true statesman, and his words had a powerful influence. Strongly as he felt and expressed himself, he was conservative. "The cause of liberty," he says in one place, "is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to its nature. Those who engage in it should breathe a sedate, yet fervent spirit, animating them to actions of prudence, justice, modesty, bravery, humanity, and magnanimity." [2]

The Tea Tax. — Again the remonstrances and the non-importation agreements had their effects. The English took off all taxes except that upon tea (1770). This concession induced New York to break the non-importation agreement, much to the disgust of the Philadelphia merchants. Importations after this were generally resumed except in the case of tea, which was smuggled in considerable quantities from Holland. This condition of affairs continued until 1773.

The British East India Company, one of the greatest corporations of those days, had sustained many losses, partly owing to the action of the Americans. It was said to have had several million pounds of tea in its English warehouses. A change in the law provided that the company could export its tea to the colonies free of any duty in England.

[1] The actual title is "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies." Philadelphia, 1768.

[2] Letter III.

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An Account of ye Post of ye Continent of N.th America as they are Regulated by ye Postmasters Gen.l of ye Post House

The Western Post setts out from Philadelphia every Fryday: leaving Letters at Burlington and Fort Amboy and arrives at New York on Sunday night; the distance between Philadelphia and New York being 106 Miles. The Post goes out Eastward every Monday morning from New York, and arrives at Seabrook Thursday noon; being 150 Miles, where the Post from Boston setts out at the same time: the New York Post returning with the Eastern Letters, and the Boston Post with the Western. Bags are dropt at New London, Stommington, Rhode Island, and Bristol. The Post from Boston to Piscataway being 70 Miles leaves Letters at Ipswich, Salem, Marblehead and Newberry. There are offices kept at Burlington, Perth Amboy in New Jersey, New London and Stommington in Connecticut, at Rhode Island, Bristol, Ipswich, Salem, Marblehead and Newberry, and the 3 Great Offices are at Boston, New York & Philadelphia.

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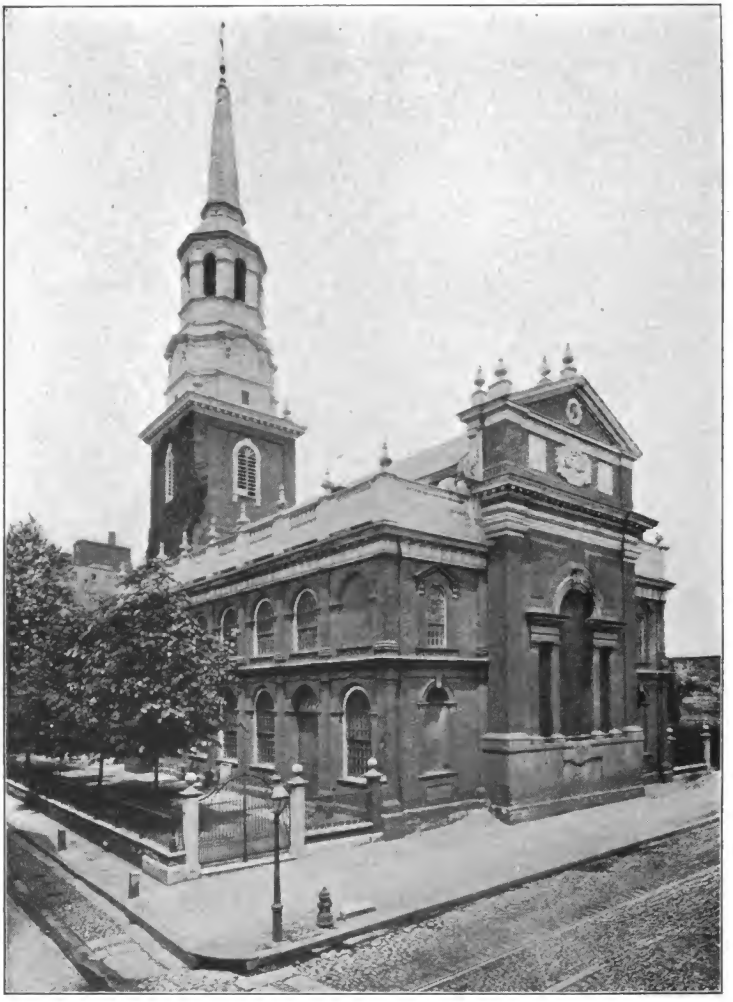

CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

Erected in 1727 on the site of a smaller church built in 1695. President Washington and President Adams each had a pew here, and Benjamin Franklin worshipped here.

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This would enable the Americans to get their tea actually cheaper than the English.

The Philadelphia Tea Party. — It was determined to send shipments of tea to America, and vessels were sent to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.[1] The story of the "Boston Tea Party" is well known. In Philadelphia a printed notice was given to the Delaware pilots telling them that "tar and feathers will be his portion who pilots her [the ship] into this harbor." The notice sent to Captain Ayres of the ship *Polly*, which had the tea on board, was even more definite. "What think you, Captain," they say, "of a halter round your neck, ten gallons of liquid tar decanted on your pate, with the feathers of a dozen wild geese laid over that to enliven your appearance?" A large meeting was held in the state house yard and a warning sent to the captain not to bring his ship any nearer. The captain, leaving his ship some distance down the river, came to Philadelphia, and finding the feeling so strong, concluded not to attempt to land the tea. The Quaker firm who were the consignees advanced him money to purchase ship's stores, and he sailed back to England.[2]

Closing of the Port of Boston; Effect on the Colonies. — The port of Boston was closed in 1774 by the British government in consequence of the treatment the tea shipments had received. The Boston Port Bill was not only to punish the Bostonians, but also to frighten the other colonies. The act went into effect June 1, 1774. The Bostonians at once appealed for aid. The answer was prompt and widespread. Paul Revere was sent to Philadelphia to beg for help and

[1] No official notice of these shipments was sent out, but it was known that they were on the way.

[2] The amount of tea on board the *Polly* was "568 whole and 130 half chests."

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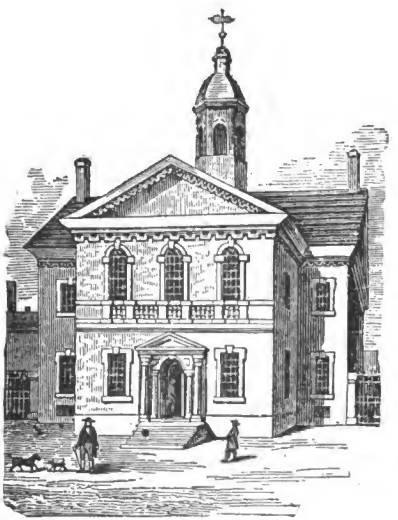
support. Philadelphia sent one thousand barrels of flour. Two or more public meetings were held, and a letter of sympathy was sent to Boston, upholding colonial rights, and expressing the opinion that a general Congress of delegates from all the colonies should be held in Philadelphia. Letters were also sent to the southern colonies advising a Congress. In July the Assembly approved the plan and appointed eight delegates to a Congress representing all the colonies, to be held at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia.[1]



CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA, 1774

First Continental Congress. — This was the first Continental Congress, and in it were some of the ablest men in the colonies, among them Samuel and John Adams from Massachusetts, John Jay from New York, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington from Virginia, the Rutledges and Christopher Gadsden from South Carolina, and John Dickinson from Pennsylvania. Every colony except Georgia was represented. The Congress of fifty-three members met September 4, 1774, in Carpenters' Hall, and organized by choosing Peyton Randolph of Virginia,

[1] The Pennsylvania delegates were John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoads, Edward Biddle, John Morton, George Ross, and Charles Humphreys.

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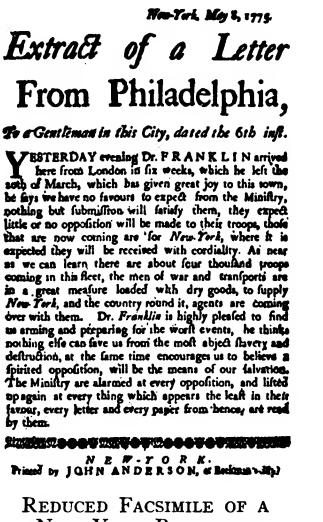
president, and Charles Thomson of Pennsylvania, secretary. Carpenters' Hall, the brick building in which the Congress sat, was the official house of the Carpenters' Company, which had been organized in 1724. The building was erected in 1770. It remains in admirable preservation as a simple but handsome example of colonial architecture.[1]

Acts of the Continental Congress. — The Congress sat eight weeks and acted with great unanimity. It upheld Massachusetts, and adopted non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption agreements, thus attacking England on the commercial side. It also adopted a declaration of rights, stating with admirable clearness and moderation the grievances of the colonists; an address to the king, one to the people of England, one to the people of the colonies, and one to the people of Canada. There can be no doubt that the Congress accurately represented the feelings of the vast majority of the colonists everywhere. After providing for another Congress to meet in May, 1775, the Congress adjourned.

Pennsylvania and the Congress; Return of Franklin. — The Pennsylvania Assembly unanimously approved the proceedings of the Congress and appointed delegates to the Congress to be held in May, 1775.



New-York, May 8, 1775.

Extract of a Letter

From Philadelphia,

To a Gentleman in this City, dated the 6th inst.

YESTERDAY evening Dr. FRANKLIN arrived here from London in six weeks, which he left the 20th of March, which has given great joy to this town, he says we have no favours to expect from the Ministry, nothing but submission will satisfy them, they expect little or no opposition will be made to their troops, those that are now coming are for *New-York*, where it is expected they will be received with cordiality. As near as we can learn there are about four thousand troops coming in this fleet, the men of war and transports are in a great measure loaded with dry goods, to supply *New-York*, and the country round it, agents are coming over with them. Dr. *Franklin* is highly pleased to find us arming and preparing for the worst events, he thinks nothing else can save us from the most abject slavery and destruction, at the same time encourages us to believe a spirited opposition, will be the means of our salvation. The Ministry are alarmed at every opposition, and lifted up again at every thing which appears the least in their favour, every letter and every paper from hence, are read by them.

NEW-YORK.

Printed by JOHN ANDERSON, at Beekman's-Slip.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A NEW YORK BROADSIDE

Benjamin Franklin returned from England to Philadelphia

[1] The building stands considerably back from Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets.

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in May, 1775, and was welcomed with enthusiasm. Each political party looked to him for support. But he soon showed that his influence would be used on the popular side.

Meantime Governor Penn had been able to do little. He had been absent in England (1771–1773), during which time his younger brother, Richard Penn, took his place.[1] Governor John Penn had made little effort to influence or control the action of the Assembly, but he told the members that the proper way to remonstrate with the home government was through a provincial not a continental assembly. This was not the view of the Assembly. But the Assembly was too conservative for the people, who held a large public meeting presided over by Joseph Reed, and enthusiastically approved the recommendations of the Continental Congress.

Concord and Lexington. — The news of the battles of Concord and Lexington on the 19th of April, forwarded by messengers who rode night and day, reached Philadelphia five days later, April 24th. A meeting, said to have numbered eight thousand, was held in the state house yard and resolved "to associate for the purpose of defending with their arms their lives, liberty, and property." The next day the enrollment of troops began. Many of the younger Quakers joined the ranks.

Second Continental Congress. — The second Continental Congress met on May 10, 1775, in the state house in the room which, from the action of this Congress, is known as the "Independence Chamber." John Hancock of Boston was chosen president, and Charles Thomson, secretary.[2] Ben-

[1] Richard Penn was much liked by the Pennsylvanians, and to him the petition to the king (1775) was intrusted for presentation.

[2] No man of those days was more trusted. The Indians, with whom he had much to do, called him "The Man who-tells-the-truth." He was secretary

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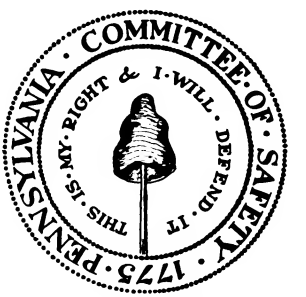
jamin Franklin had been chosen a delegate and at once took a prominent part.

George Washington, Commander-in-Chief; Feeling in Pennsylvania. — The most important of the early steps taken by the Congress was the acceptance of the militia as a continental army, and the appointment of George Washington of Virginia as commander-in-chief. Benjamin Franklin was appointed postmaster general. These acts were those of rebels, though nothing was said of independence.

Notwithstanding the large and enthusiastic meetings counselling resistance, there can be little doubt that in May, 1775, the feeling of the majority in Pennsylvania was averse to an appeal to arms. The Quakers on principle, and the Germans partly from principle, and partly, it may be, from indifference, both opposed the war. But the patriotic leaders, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Reed, Thomas Mifflin, and others, were men of great ability and thoroughly in earnest, and they hastened the course of events. Through their influence a Committee of Public Safety was appointed, of which Franklin was chosen president. The business of this committee was to raise and organize troops, and to take such measures as seemed needful to protect the province from danger.



SEAL OF COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

One of the measures taken was to attempt to require of all

of the Continental Congress, and of the Constitutional Convention. He accumulated a large amount of material regarding the important period in which he held so prominent a part. Shortly before his death he destroyed all his papers, believing their publication would do more harm than good.

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adult males military service or a money equivalent. This, however, was not passed. But the Quakers and other non-fighting sects were advised to give aid when possible. To this advice a liberal response was made in food and clothing for the needy in Massachusetts.

The Quakers also sent a petition reciting their principles and their protection under Penn's charters. They also said that they believed a peaceable resistance was the best attitude to preserve against oppression. This answer was not acceptable to the warlike party, who made a vigorous reply. Some of the Quakers, especially of the younger members, supported the warlike measures, believing that armed resistance to oppression was right. They were disowned by their old associates, and formed an association of their own, calling themselves The Free Quakers. They did not attract many adherents, and the organization disappeared early in the nineteenth century.

New Government for Pennsylvania. — The Continental Congress as early as November, 1775, had advised New Hampshire to establish a government of her own, and had later given the same advice to other colonies, so the question came up in Pennsylvania. The proprietaries and Assembly each thought that there was no need for a new government, but those who had responded so enthusiastically to the calls from Massachusetts, were sure that anything which had a particle of English authority in it must be done away with. A public meeting was held May 20, 1776, at which it was resolved that the Assembly, as it drew its powers from the king and had been chosen for other purposes, had no authority to form a new government, but that a convention chosen by the people should undertake the task.

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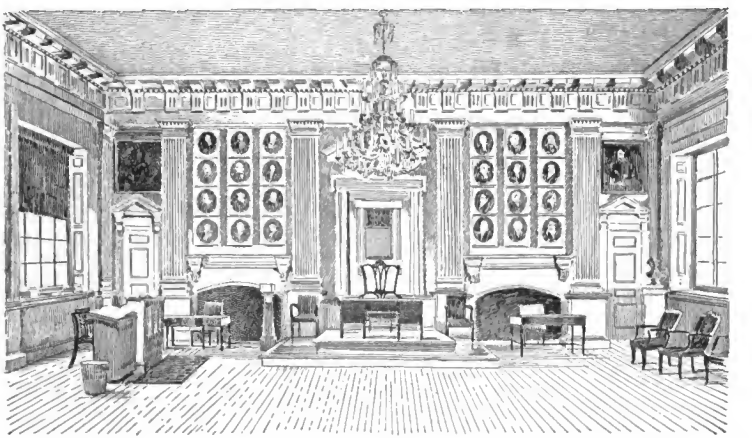
In spite of much opposition, even from warm supporters of the Revolution, who objected to the method as harsh and hasty, the plan was rapidly carried out. A provincial conference of eighty-seven members was held June 18th in Carpenters' Hall, which decided that an election should be held July 8th for delegates to a constitutional convention.



ROOM IN WHICH THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS SIGNED

It was provided that any one who wished to vote "might be required to take an oath or affirmation abjuring allegiance to King George, and at the same time expressing his willingness to live peaceable under a free government."

Declaration of Independence. — But before the convention was held national events had moved rapidly, and on July 4th, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and the United States of America came into being.[1] It

[1] Contrary to a very common impression, only John Hancock, the president, and Charles Thomson, the secretary, signed the document at first; the other names were added from time to time, most of them on August 2d.

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was from this action that the name for the historic building was gradually changed from "The State House" to "Independence Hall." The Declaration was read by John Nixon, July 8th, "to a great concourse of people." John Adams, who was present, tells us, "Three cheers rended the welkin. The battalions paraded on the common, . . . the bells rang all day and almost all night, even the chimers of Christ Church chimed away."

There can be no doubt that among the bells rung was that great bell of the state house, cast twenty-five years before with the prophetic inscription on it, and since known as the "Liberty Bell" (see page 86).

Pennsylvania and Independence. — The seven Pennsylvania delegates in the Congress were divided in opinion regarding independence. At first the vote stood four to three against independence. Franklin voted for independence first and last; John Dickinson and James Wilson thought the action premature; Thomas Willing and Charles Humphreys opposed; John Morton and Robert Morris held off. On the day the final vote was taken Morton and Wilson were brought over, and they and Franklin voted *Aye;* Willing and Humphreys voted *No*, and Dickinson and Morris stayed away, so the Pennsylvania vote stood three to two.[1]

Constitutional Convention. — The election of delegates to the State Constitutional Convention took place July 8th, the day of the celebration of the Declaration of Independence. As a result of the provision requiring of electors an oath or affir-

[1] Before August 2d, when most of the members signed, the Pennsylvania delegation had been changed, so the signers then were Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, and George Ross, five of whom were not members of the Congress on July 4th.

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INDEPENDENCE HALL AT PHILADELPHIA — SOUTH FRONT

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SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

From a recent photograph of the original painting in Independence Hall

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mation abjuring allegiance to the king, those who preferred the old system took no part in the election, so the new party carried the day triumphantly.

Franklin was chosen president of the convention. He was now seventy years old and hale and hearty; indeed, some of his most valuable services to his country were yet to come. David Rittenhouse, the civil engineer and astronomer, was another member, but the convention, as a whole, was rather lacking in ability. From the moment of its organization the convention assumed the government, and the Committee of Safety came to an end.

End of the Assembly; the Quaker Influence Ends. — The old Assembly met in August, 1776, and again in September, but it did not have a quorum. Little was done except to register a protest against the revolutionary convention and its assumption of power. The Assembly then adjourned and never met again. So fell the colonial proprietary government of Pennsylvania. With it also fell the Quaker influence in politics. Naturally a non-warlike body could have little to do in war time, for its members would be distrusted by both sides. As a matter of fact, the majority of the Quakers were strongly opposed to the British exactions, but they could not fight. Many of the rich merchants of Philadelphia were opposed to the Revolution, but theirs was a passive resistance, and they suffered not a little for their opinions, and some were severely persecuted. They remained behind after the British troops left Philadelphia, lived down the hard feelings against them, and after the Revolution, gave their adherence to the new government, but they never attempted to influence political feeling.

The Proprietary Government. — The proprietary government had lasted about a century. It has much to its credit

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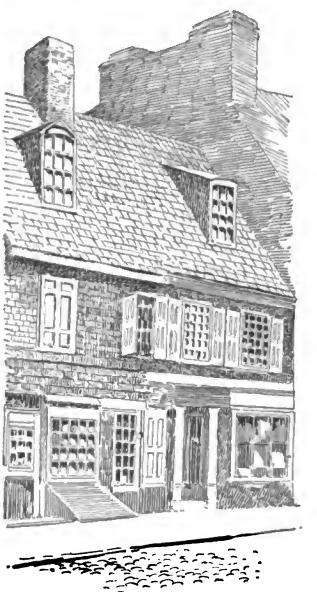
in spite of much that is petty and short-sighted. No colonial Assembly did more for the cause of popular rights than did that of Pennsylvania. The yearly elections kept the Assembly in close touch with the people, and the great prosperity of the province indicated a large degree of social order and obedience to law. In the trying period succeeding the close of the war in 1763 the Assembly had moved with as much rapidity as the great body of the people wished, and its overthrow was due to the excitement and the warlike spirit of the Revolutionary movement.



BETSY ROSS HOUSE, ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA

In this house is said to have been made the first American flag

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CHAPTER XIII

PENNSYLVANIA IN THE REVOLUTION (Continued)

State Constitution of 1776. — The Constitutional Convention was composed almost wholly of men holding extreme views, and so the Constitution framed by it remains one of the most democratic instruments of government ever framed. It provided for a people's rule as nearly as seemed possible to devise.[1] There was a single legislative house, elected annually by all freemen who had paid taxes and who were over twenty-one years old. Instead of a governor there was a Supreme Executive Council of twelve members, one elected by each of the eleven counties and one by the city of Philadelphia. This Council appointed the judges and all officers not elected by the people. It also performed most of the duties usually belonging to a governor. Its president and vice-president were to be chosen by a joint meeting of the Council and Assembly. The president was the head of the State, but he had little authority.

In some respects the provisions of the Constitution were deserving of approval. There was to be at least one school in every county, supported at the public expense; a belief in God and in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments was the only religious test required of officials; and

[1] It is said that Thomas Paine, who had lately arrived from France and was filled with the democratic ideas of Rousseau and his school, was largely responsible for the document, though he was not a member of the convention.

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the Constitution authorized the reduction of the number of offenses punishable by death.[1]

There was an attempt at a check on the government in the provision for a Council of Censors to be elected every seven years, two from each city and county, to hold office for one year. The duty of the censors was to see if the Constitution had been observed, and that the legislative and executive officials had done their duty. The censors also had the power to call a convention to propose amendments to the Constitution or a revision of it. This Council was chosen only once and proved to be of little use except to show the defects of the Constitution. It had, moreover, no power to enforce anything.

Though opposed by many of the best citizens, and in spite of efforts to change it, this Constitution was in force until 1790. The first Assembly chosen under the new Constitution passed a bill requiring every voter to take an oath or affirmation of allegiance to the new Constitution and of abjuration from King George III. The Moravians, Dunkers, and Mennonites, and most, if not all, of the Quakers refused to do this. It was an ill-advised measure, because it drove some over to the British side, and also disfranchised many of the best citizens of the State.

Pennsylvania Controlled by the Radical Party. — The two great parties were the Constitutionalists, or those who supported the new government; and the Anti-Constitutionalists, or Republicans. For the rest of the war, and until after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1790, Pennsylvania was under the control of the radical party and the political conditions in the State were far from satisfactory.

[1] After 1786 the only crimes punishable with death were treason and murder in the first degree. This was the provision in Penn's first charter.

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The Revolution in the Middle Colonies. — The British, believing that the middle colonies offered a more promising field for attack, now left Boston and moved southward. The campaign which followed belongs to national history. Late in 1776 the British determined to capture Philadelphia. It was the capital, and was the richest city in the colonies. Besides there were believed to be many British sympathizers in the city and in Pennsylvania.

Washington, compelled to leave New York, retreated across New Jersey. The Continental Congress fled to Baltimore for safety. General Mifflin was sent to Philadelphia to try to secure aid. The new Assembly offered rewards for enlistments, and succeeded in raising fifteen hundred recruits. Then came the surprise of the British at Trenton, followed by their retreat to New York. Congress came back from Baltimore and the Philadelphians felt more secure.

Washington was sadly in need of money, but Congress could not or would not make the needful efforts to secure funds, and so Robert Morris went from house to house, even arousing men from their beds, and in this way collected $50,000, which was sent to Washington.

Pennsylvania Campaign. — General Howe had by no means given up his plan of seizing Philadelphia. But it was not until July, 1777, that he left New York, embarked his troops on vessels and sailed southward. He entered Chesapeake Bay and landed his troops, August 25th, near the head of the bay, at Elkton, Maryland, on the Elk River about fifty miles south of Philadelphia. Howe's force was about seventeen thousand well trained and well equipped men. To meet these Washington had eleven thousand poorly equipped men, many of them having had but little training.

As soon as Washington, who was in New Jersey, learned

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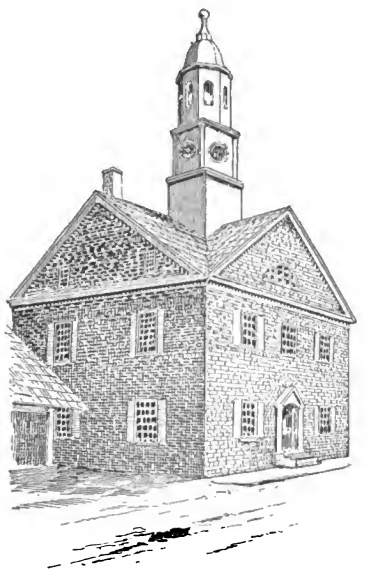
that Howe had left New York, he marched southward, passing through Philadelphia. He was accompanied by the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French nobleman who had come to give his services in aid of the young republic.



COURT HOUSE, YORK, PA.
Occupied by the Continental Congress, 1777–1778

The Battle of Brandywine; "Paoli Massacre." — The two armies met September 11, 1777, at Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine Creek, about fifteen miles north of Wilmington, Delaware. It was a well-contested though unequal battle. Washington's eleven thousand men could not be expected to cope with Howe's seventeen thousand. The Americans were driven from the field, but were not badly defeated, for it took Howe two weeks to march over the twenty-six miles to Philadelphia. As all the boats and bridges on the Schuylkill River had been removed, Howe was compelled to go up the river as far as Swedes' Ford, now Norristown. General Anthony Wayne, who was stationed at Paoli with some troops to guard the approach to Swedes' Ford, was surprised by Howe at night, and about three hundred were put to death with the bayonet, the rest escaping. This is known as the "Paoli Massacre." A few days later Howe crossed the Schuylkill, and on September 26th marched into Philadelphia without opposition.

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Panic in Philadelphia; "Exiles to Virginia." — The news of the defeat at Brandywine created a panic in Philadelphia. The Continental Congress had left in undignified haste on the 19th. John Adams says that the members "were alarmed in their beds" by a letter from Mr. Hamilton notifying them that the British might enter the city at any time. The official papers had already been sent out of the city and the members hastened to Trenton, then to Easton, Reading, Lancaster and York. The State Government went to Lancaster.

COURT HOUSE, LANCASTER, PA.
Occupied by the State Government, 1777–1778

Before Congress left Philadelphia it had advised the arrest of leading royalists, and of any others, who, it was thought, might injure the American cause. As a result some forty persons, including Provost Smith of the College (later the University of Pennsylvania), were proceeded against. Some of these escaped by taking the oath of allegiance or in other ways, but twenty-six — seventeen of whom were Quakers — were arrested and carried to the Free Masons' lodge. Congress suggested that they be sent to Staunton, Virginia, and after several days of disputing, the accused meanwhile stoutly and steadily maintaining their right to freedom under the law, they were arbitrarily banished. They were placed in

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wagons and sent off, under guard, to Reading and were treated roughly on the way. They were then carried to Winchester, Virginia, where two of their number died of ill-usage and exposure. The harsh treatment given these exiles caused a reaction of feeling, and they were allowed to return in the spring of 1778. They were given permission to pass through the American lines, receiving courteous treatment, and so returned to their homes in Philadelphia, though the British were in possession.[1] The State Council dealt with other citizens accused of British sympathies, among whom were Governor John Penn, and Benjamin Chew, who had been chief-justice. It was proposed to send them also to Virginia, but they gave their parole to remain at Union Iron Works, New Jersey, and they went there.

British in Philadelphia; Germantown. — Although the British had taken Philadelphia, Washington's army held the surrounding country, thus cutting off the supply of provisions. Besides this, Forts Mercer and Mifflin below Philadelphia prevented supplies coming from abroad. It was, therefore, necessary for the British to take these forts. For this cause Howe's forces were divided. Washington, who was encamped on Skippack Creek, about fourteen miles from Germantown, determined to surprise Howe's troops in that village. The attack was made October 4, and was well planned, but the morning was foggy and the Americans became confused in the fog, mistaking one another for the British. A British colonel took possession of the large Chew mansion and made a determined stand, which increased the disorder in the American ranks. Washington

[1] This incident has had its defenders, but no overt act, or anything that would encourage the British, was ever proved against the accused. It must be regarded as an act not justified even by supposed military necessity.

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was unable to collect his forces, and was compelled to retreat.

Washington at White Marsh. — This was the last engagement near Philadelphia. Howe attempted an attack on Washington, who had retired to White Marsh, but finding

THE BRITISH BARRACKS IN PHILADELPHIA

him prepared, retired without a battle. It is said that Howe's plan was discussed in the house of William Darragh on Second Street, below Spruce, Philadelphia, and the conversation was overheard by his wife, Lydia Darragh, who the next morning rode beyond the British lines to get some flour. Meeting an American officer she told him what she had heard, and he informed Washington. In fact, through friends in Philadelphia, Washington was kept very well informed of what was being done in the city.

The first attack (October 23) on the American forts on the Delaware was made against Fort Mercer on the Jersey side, and was repulsed with heavy loss of men and the destruction of two vessels. Two weeks later Fort Mifflin, on the Pennsylvania side, was attacked, and after a few days the

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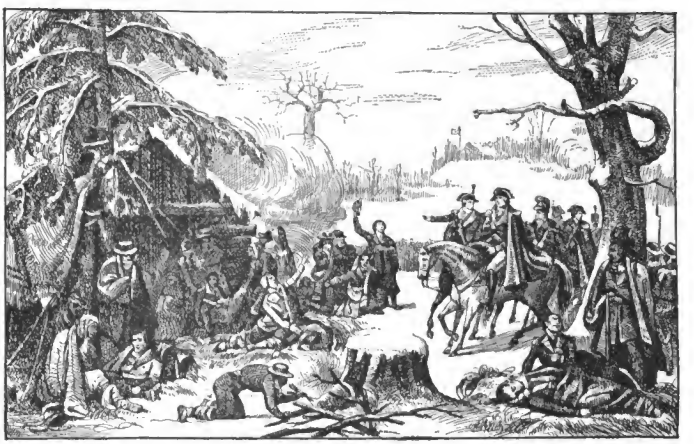
garrison was compelled to abandon the fort and the British took possession. Shortly after Fort Mercer was also evacuated, and the river was open to the British.

Valley Forge. — Late in December, Washington left White Marsh and went into winter quarters at Valley Forge



VALLEY FORGE

Washington and Lafayette visiting the suffering army
After the painting by A. Gibert

on the west bank of the Schuylkill River. Shut in on the south and west by high hills, and lying open to the river in front, Valley Forge is admirably fitted for the winter quarters of a small army, but the name in America has become the synonym for suffering. Washington wrote, December 23d, that nearly three thousand men were "unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and otherwise naked." Supplies of food also were scanty. It is to the disgrace of Congress that this suffering was chiefly due to its interference with the commissary department, to its own petty squabbles, and to the

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greed of contractors.[1] Had Howe been as well informed of Washington's circumstances as Washington was of Howe's, it might have gone harder with the Americans. Added to the difficulties of Washington was the effort to replace him by General Gates, to whom the victory at Saratoga had given an undeserved reputation.[2]

While the American forces were enduring the hardships of an unusually cold winter at Valley Forge, Howe, his officers, and men were having a gay time in Philadelphia. Indeed, the British army was so much demoralized by its stay in the city that Franklin said it was not so much that the British had taken Philadelphia as that Philadelphia had taken the British.

Sufferings of the Prisoners. — Many persons had fled from Philadelphia before the British took possession, leaving in the city perhaps 24,000 people, the most of whom were women and children. General Howe made Joseph Galloway, who had gone over to the British side, his chief adviser, and had given him several important offices. There was a good deal of suffering among the poor, but the American prisoners suffered most of all. Some were confined in the state house, some in the Walnut Street prison, and some in other buildings. The stories of their sufferings as related in contemporary diaries reveals a terrible state of affairs. The British also complained with reason of the treatment of their prisoners by the Americans. Prisoners on both sides were cruelly treated.

[1] Some allowance must be made for the difficulty of transportation. All through the Revolution armies suffered from lack of supplies. Valley Forge was one of many cases, but it was aggravated by the inefficiency of Congress.

[2] The victory was really due to General Philip Schuyler, who was superseded just before the battle.

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Commodore Barry's Exploit; British Gayeties. — Various attempts were made by the Americans to injure the British, perhaps the most successful of which was that of Commodore John Barry, who was in command of a war vessel sent up the Delaware River to be out of reach of the enemy. He manned the ship's boats, slipped past Philadelphia in the night, and captured several British vessels loaded with military stores.[1]

Balls, parties, and theatrical performances were given in Philadelphia during the winter, and were crowned in the spring (1778) by a grand performance, a combination of a ball, tournament, and regatta, called the "Mischianza."[2] The chief mover in this latter entertainment was Major John André, whose sad fate two years later is one of the best known occurrences of the Revolution.

British Evacuate Philadelphia. — General Howe was replaced in May, 1778, by Sir Henry Clinton. It was evident that the British had gained nothing by the occupation of Philadelphia, and it was determined to evacuate the city. This decision was almost a necessity, for France had recognized the United States and was preparing to give her active military and naval assistance. A French fleet might blockade the Delaware Bay at any moment and cut off the British supplies.

Early in June, 1778, the evacuation began; the troops, including those brought in from the outer lines, embarked on transports, some to go to New York by sea, but most of them to be ferried across the river to New Jersey, to take up the march to New York. The last company of soldiers left before noon on June 18th, and the British occupation

[1] A statue in his honor stands in Independence Square, Philadelphia.

[2] Taken from an Italian word *mescianza*, meaning a medley.

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was at an end. Except at the time of the Wyoming Massacre no British troops were in Pennsylvania during the rest of the war.

Philadelphia after Departure of the British. — When the Americans entered the city a sad sight was presented to their eyes. "The trees were destroyed on all sides; churches and public buildings defiled, — they had been used as stables for the horses, — fences were broken down; houses quite pulled down or robbed of their doors, windows, roofs, and floors; gardens and orchards were trampled upon and ruined. . . . The State House was in such a filthy and sordid condition that Congress, when it returned, was obliged to meet in the College Hall." The country around Philadelphia, partly from the seizures of the Americans, and partly by reason of the raids of the Hessians, was a waste.

"PEGGY" SHIPPEN
With "Mischianza" head-dress

The departure of the British army brought consternation upon the Tories, or British sympathizers. All who possibly could do so, left with the British troops. The fear of the Tories was well founded. When the Americans came into control, many Tories were charged with treason and their property confiscated. Oaths of allegiance were required of all who had not already taken them; fines, imprisonments, and forfeiture of property were common. Among the mansions confiscated were those of Joseph Galloway, Sixth and Market Streets, of the Rawles on the Schuylkill, known as "Laurel Hill," and Duché's house at Third and Pine Streets. The personal property of Tories was sold at auction.

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Indeeed, there was a vindictiveness shown against the British sympathizers that is by no means creditable.

Benedict Arnold in Philadelphia. — Washington followed the British army into New Jersey, leaving General Benedict Arnold in charge of Philadelphia. He was a brave soldier who had won a high reputation by his conduct in the Quebec campaign, and at Saratoga, where he had been wounded. But he was ill fitted for the position in which he was placed. He had luxurious tastes and began to gather money in every way he could in order to spend it ostentatiously. He married "Peggy" Shippen, one of the belles of the city, and lived in a large house on the banks of the Schuylkill.

He had claims against Congress, but could not get them settled, and for this reason turned against the American cause, possibly beginning his overtures to the British while still in Philadelphia. He became much disliked, and was charged by the State government with misuse of funds, and among other things with engaging in illicit trade. He was finally tried by court-martial and was acquitted of the most serious charges, but sentenced to be reprimanded by Washington for some of the others. That Washington gave Arnold the command of West Point after this indicates that he thought the charges light ones.

Conditions did not improve much in Philadelphia. The city was governed by State officials, for there was no city government. There were so many disturbances and outrages and mobs that military rule seemed a necessity.

Treatment of British Sympathizers. — Courts were busy during most of the summer of 1778 in hearing evidence against traitors, and everyone who had in the slightest way aided the British or given any information, was held to be a traitor. Two cases excited great feeling — those of Abraham

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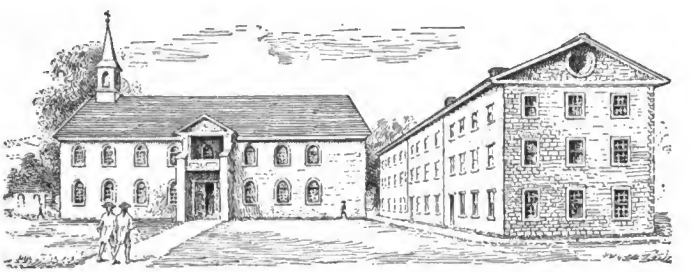
Carlisle and John Roberts. The former had accepted a position to grant passes in and out of the British lines; and John Roberts had, perhaps unwillingly, acted as guide to British foraging parties, and had committed other questionable acts. The trial was before Judge McKean. Strenuous efforts were made to save them; hundreds of the best citizens



OLD COLLEGE BUILDINGS OF UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

testified to their good character, that they had been useful citizens, and that large families were dependent upon them. All was of no avail, they were convicted and condemned to be hanged. With the ropes around their necks they rode on their coffins in carts to the place of public execution and suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Their estates were afterward confiscated.[1] There can be no question that the punishment was wholly out of proportion to the offences, but they were "hung as an example."

Among other acts of retaliation, the Constitutionalists attacked the College on the ground that most of its supporters had been Tories, and were able in 1779 to procure the annulment of its charter. The property was given to a new board of trustees, and the institution was called the "University

[1] These were afterwards restored to their families.

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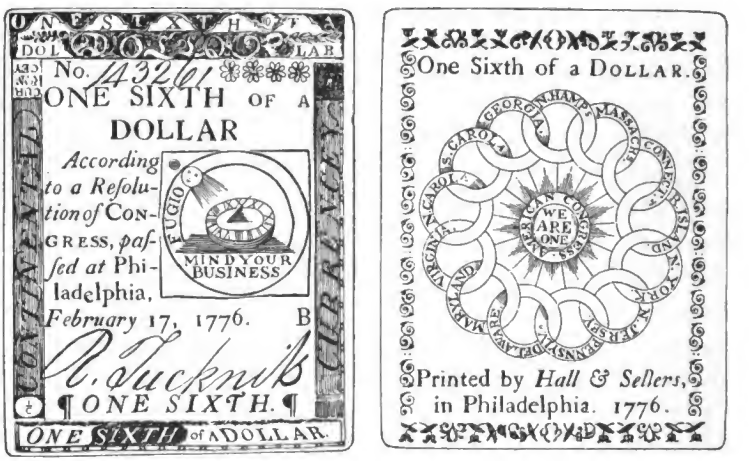
of Pennsylvania." The old trustees, however, kept up their organization, and there were two nominal colleges until 1791, when the college and the university were united under the name of the "University of Pennsylvania."

There was scarcely an institution or interest that did not undergo a greater or less upheaval during this unsettled time,



Face Back

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

which is the least creditable period in the history of the State.

In addition to other troubles, the condition of the finances of the State was deplorable. Continental currency had sunk so low in value that prices were absurd. Peas were thirty dollars a half-peck, butter eight to twelve dollars a pound, a suit of clothes cost $1600. An attempt was made to fix the prices of articles, but it was not successful.

Purchase of Proprietary Interests; Slavery Abolished. — The times and men were not, however, wholly bad, for there were some praiseworthy acts. In 1779 the Assembly bought

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out the interest of the Penns in Pennsylvania for £130,000. Considering that the Penns were Loyalists, and that all their private estates and their manors were excepted, this sum might be thought liberal.[1]

Another act, still more praiseworthy, was that which provided for the gradual extinction of slavery in Pennsylvania. The movement against this evil began in 1688 with the petition of the German Friends against slavery. Though no action was taken at the time, there grew up a strong feeling in the denomination against slavery, and this was so strengthened through the efforts of Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, and others, that the Quakers cleared themselves of slavery by setting their slaves free and forbidding the holding or dealing in them by members of their society. This was practically accomplished by 1777. But though the example of the Quakers must have had considerable effect, they had now little or no political influence, so the movement in the Council and Assembly cannot be ascribed to them.

The first effort for emancipation was in 1778, and in February, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council sent a message to the Assembly saying, "We would again bring to your view a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery, so disgraceful to any people, and more especially to those who have been contending in the great cause of liberty themselves, and upon whom Providence has bestowed such eminent marks of its favor and protection." In October of the same year the matter was taken up in the Assembly by George Bryan who, in 1778, had been the moving spirit in the Executive Council, and on March 1, 1780, a bill was passed

[1] Some of these lands are still in possession of Penn's descendants. Besides this the British government conferred an annuity of £4000 upon the Penns. This was brought to an end in 1884 by a payment to the Penn heirs of £67,000.

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providing that all negro children born after that date should be free when they should reach twenty-eight years of age. This was the first emancipation bill in America; Massachusetts followed in a few months.

Wyoming Massacre. — One of the most tragic events of the Revolution remains to be noticed. The Connecticut settlement in the Wyoming Valley has been described. The settlers had responded to the call of Congress for recruits, and many men had joined the Continental army, leaving the settlements almost defenceless. The British had made an alliance with the Six Nations, and it was thought to be a favorable time to attack the settlers. A band of whites and Seneca Indians, about twelve hundred in number, led by Colonel John Butler and Jacob Brant, attacked the settlers in Wyoming Valley. Only three hundred old men and boys were available for defence and their defeat was inevitable. A massacre of men, women, and children followed. Some had shut themselves up in the old "Forty Fort," but they were compelled to surrender. Every house, barn, and building in the valley was burned, and all who were not able to escape into the woods were murdered. The cruelty and vindictiveness of the massacre aroused horror in both America and Europe, and did the British cause much harm.[1]

The news of the Wyoming Massacre spread terror all along the western frontier, and hundreds fled from their wilderness homes to the settled part of the country. Border warfare did not cease until 1784.

Retaliation on the Indians. — Washington felt that a terrible lesson was needed to prevent similar occurrences in the future. In the spring of 1779 he sent General Sullivan

[1] Another massacre almost as terrible took place at Cherry Valley, New York. The leader here was another member of the Butler family.

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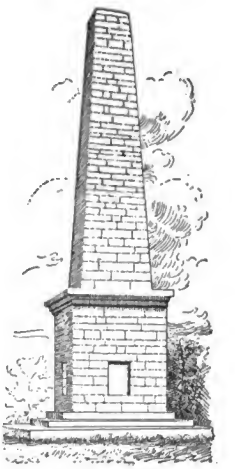
with three thousand men into the Indian territory "to carry war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit." The country was not to be "merely run over, but destroyed." Sullivan carried out these instructions to the letter, and the Six Nations were almost annihilated.



WYOMING MASSACRE MONUMENT

Erected between Wilkes Barré and Pittston

Peace Rejoicings. — The war came practically to an end with the surrender of Yorktown, October 19, 1781. The news reached Philadelphia early in the morning of the 22d, by means of an express messenger, and was announced to the people by a watchman crying out, "Past two o'clock and Cornwallis is taken." There was great rejoicing in Philadelphia; flags were hoisted at the state house and other public buildings, and on the shipping in the river; at noon a salute with cannon was given in the state house yard. In the afternoon a religious service was held in the Lutheran church, which was attended by the members of Congress in a body, and by the officials of government. At night an illumination was ordered. The Quakers, who on principle could not rejoice at warlike deeds, would not put candles in their windows, and in consequence suffered many indignities. Scarcely a house escaped injury. In one house nearly seventy panes of glass were broken, the panels of the front door knocked in, and quantities of stones thrown into the house. The mob rushed into some houses and forcibly

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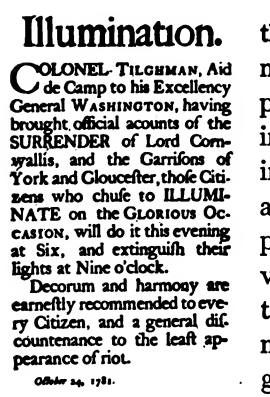
placed candles in the dark windows; in others the tenants suffered bodily injuries. These examples show the character of the people, and the loose enforcement of the laws.



Illumination.

COLONEL TILGHMAN, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, having brought official accounts of the SURRENDER of Lord Cornwallis, and the Garrifons of York and Glouceſter, thoſe Citizens who chuſe to ILLUMINATE on the GLORIOUS OCCASION, will do it this evening at Six, and extinguiſh their lights at Nine o'clock.

Decorum and harmony are earneſtly recommended to every Citizen, and a general diſcountenance to the leaſt appearance of riot.

October 24, 1781.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A PHILADELPHIA BROADSIDE

Mutiny of Soldiers; they Demand their Pay. — The soldiers of the Continental army had been months without pay and were clamorous for it. Already in December, 1780, Pennsylvania troops in New Jersey had mutinied, and, if arrangements had not been made to pay them, the result might have been very serious. Another incident brought the matter close home to the Continental Congress and to the State government. A number of old Pennsylvania Continental soldiers were stationed at Lancaster. The war was over and yet they were unpaid. They determined to enforce payment, and so about three hundred of them marched to Philadelphia, and surrounding the council chamber, sent in word that they must have an answer in twenty minutes. The Council, however, refused to comply, and the body marched round the state house. Congress was not in session, but some members soon came together for consultation. Through the influence of General Arthur St. Clair, active measures were delayed by each party, and the men retired to the barracks. Anxious discussions took place as to what was best to do. The Council was afraid to call out the militia, for most of the people sympathized with the men; there were few military stores, and the mutineers had control of the State magazine.

Congress resolved that the authority of the United States

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had been "grossly insulted," and also resolved to leave Philadelphia at once and go to Princeton, New Jersey, which it did. It was a final farewell to Philadelphia, for the Continental Congress, though invited to do so, never returned to the city.[1]

Congress, rather selfishly, left the Council to deal with the mutineers. Through the influence and good advice of John Dickinson, now president of the State, and General St. Clair, the soldiers were persuaded to return to Lancaster. The incident no doubt hastened the settlement of Revolutionary claims.[2]

[1] Congress sat at Princeton till November, 1783; then at Annapolis, Maryland, till June, 1784; then at Trenton, N.J., November and December, 1784; then at New York from January, 1785, to August, 1790, when it rather ignominiously ceased to exist, no formal adjournment having taken place.

[2] On hearing of the mutiny Washington sent 1500 troops to quell it, but all had been settled before the troops arrived. Several of those who had prompted the mutiny, however, were arrested and sentenced to be shot, but were pardoned by Congress when the men were in front of the firing line.

CONTINENTAL SOLDIER

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CHAPTER XIV

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Conservative Reaction. — Pennsylvania had been under the control of the radical party for a number of years, and the people were becoming tired of the experience. The change in feeling was shown by the choice of John Dickinson for president of the State in 1783 and again in 1784, for he was a conservative, moderate man. The feeling against the Tories was still strong enough to prevent the removal of the test oaths for voters, with the result that about half of the voting population, including many of those best qualified to exercise the franchise, were deprived of citizenship. In spite of the numerous efforts to bring about repeal, it was not until 1789 that the test laws were done away with.

Robert Morris. — Robert Morris, whose patriotic action in raising money for the army after the battle of Trenton has been mentioned, through the influence of Washington, again came to the aid of the country. Congress in 1781 appointed him minister of finance. The power of an experienced man instead of an inefficient committee was soon shown. Order came out of confusion and business methods took the place of irregularity. It was part of his plan to return to coin or specie payments. To aid this and his other financial operations, he founded the Bank of North America, which was chartered in 1781, first by the Continental Congress and afterwards by the State. It still exists, and, with

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the exception of a bank in Boston, it is the oldest bank in the United States. Its career has been a most honorable one.[1] Robert Morris, after rendering his country incalculable benefits, resigned his position in 1784, though he had by no means ended his patriotic service.[2]

Dickinson College. — In 1783 the Presbyterians, who were strongest in the western counties, secured a charter for a college in the Cumberland Valley at Carlisle. Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the most prominent citizens of Philadelphia, was a great supporter of the project, and John Dickinson, the president of the State, though his religious sympathies were with the Quakers, not only gave the plan his support, but added a liberal financial gift. In his honor the college was named Dickinson College. In 1833 the institution passed under the control of the Methodists.[3]

Philadelphia in 1787. — At the close of the Revolutionary War Philadelphia had about 40,000 inhabitants.[4] While many persons had been ruined by the Revolution, many had grown rich. Trade was good, and commerce was large. During the first half of 1783 two hundred vessels had entered the port of Philadelphia, and as many had sailed.

[1] When the bank was changed into a national bank under the Federal law, it alone of all national banks was allowed to omit the word "National."

[2] Robert Morris, born in 1734, was an Englishman and came to America when about fifteen. He entered mercantile life and became very successful. At the opening of the Revolution he was one of the wealthy men of the country. In addition to other offices he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and United States Senator. Late in life unfortunate land speculations involved him in financial ruin, and he died, 1806, a bankrupt.

[3] This came about by the resignation, from time to time, of trustees, and the appointment of Methodists, or those in sympathy with them.

[4] When occupied by the British there were only about 24,000. Many refugees returned after the British left. In 1790, by the first Federal census, Philadelphia had 42,520 inhabitants.

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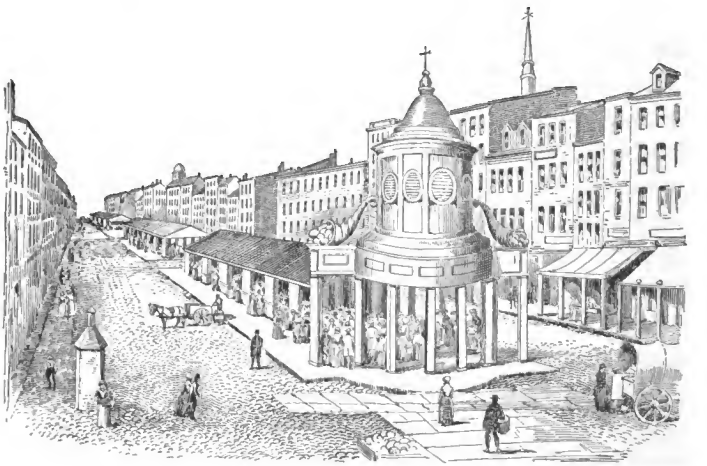
It was the largest and perhaps the handsomest city in America. Manasseh Cutler, who visited it in 1787, says: "It is large, elegant, and populous. It contains 10,000 houses and covers twice the quantity of ground to that of Boston; the State House, hospital, and most of the other public buildings are magnificent. . . . The streets . . . are well paved and at a distance of ten feet from the house



OLD MARKET HOUSES ON MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA

is a row of posts and in this range of posts are all their pumps. . . . The pavements are kept perfectly clean. . . . The middle parts of the streets are generally very dirty."

In 1784 the lower portion of Dock Creek was covered over, and the offensive stream was replaced by Dock Street. Few of the thousands that now make daily use of the wide and winding street know why it does not conform to the general plan of the city.

A striking feature in Philadelphia was the public market. Cutler tells us that the market houses extended from Second

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Street up the center of High Street for "near half a mile." In them the produce of the country found "crowds of purchasers." [1] These markets filled so important a place in the city life that in time the name of the street was changed from High to Market.

Means of Communication Needed; Harrisburg. — The return of peace showed the need of better means of communiaction and transportation; and plans for the improvement of the old roads and the construction of new ones and for the making of canals were discussed. Among other matters, the Assembly in 1783 considered the building of a town on the Susquehanna River, as a help to trade. John Harris, of Harris's Ferry, Dauphin County,[2] offered land, which was accepted, and in time Harris's Ferry was called Harrisburg. So excellent was the situation that in 1787 the Assembly resolved to build a state house there, but reconsidered the vote.

LETTER-CARRIER OF THE OLDEN TIME

The Post Office. — Postal facilities were meagre. Philadelphia received mails from New England and New York three times a week, and from Baltimore once a week. The post office was at Front and Chestnut Streets. Travellers for New York left Philadelphia daily at four o'clock in the

[1] The market houses in Market Street were all removed by 1860.

[2] Dauphin County was established in 1785, and given the name in honor of the eldest son of the king of France, whose title was the Dauphin.

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morning, reaching Newark in the evening, and New York by breakfast the next morning. For Baltimore and the south the stage left three times a week.

In 1784 there were four newspapers published in Philadelphia, the *Packet*, *Evening Post*, *Freeman's Journal*, and *Independent Gazeteer*, but not one of these was published oftener than three times a week. On September 21, 1784, Dunlop and Claypoole began a daily issue of the *Packet*. This was the first daily newspaper in America.

Return of Franklin, 1785. — In Pennsylvania one of the notable events of the year 1785 was the return of Benjamin Franklin, who had been sent abroad (1776) to aid in securing the aid of France. He had remained as the representative of our country, and had been one of the chief envoys in negotiating the treaty of peace with Great Britain.

Franklin was now in his eightieth year and somewhat infirm. Though he had his enemies, there was no question that next to Washington he was held to be the most distinguished man in America. Manasseh Cutler, who visited him in 1787, speaks of Franklin as, "This great man who had been the wonder of Europe, as well as the glory of America." The vessel in which he came from France was made fast at High (Market) Street wharf, September 14, 1785. As he landed, bells were rung and delegates met him with addresses of congratulation. He was at once chosen to the Supreme Executive Council, and then as president of the State, succeeding John Dickinson, who had held office three years. It was more of an honor than a task, for he left most of the work to the vice-president. He was twice re-elected, holding the office until 1788.

Constitutional Convention, 1787. — Pennsylvania, and more particularly Philadelphia, had already been the scene of two

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notable gatherings, the first Congress of the colonies, which had been held in Carpenters' Hall; and the second Congress, held in the state house, where Independence had been declared; it was now to be the scene of a third gathering perhaps even more important than either of the other two.

In the early days of the Revolution it was seen that there should be some bond of union for the States, and in 1777 the Articles of Confederation were drawn up and adopted by Congress. The States, however, moved largely by jealousy and the fear of losing some of their independent action, were slow in ratifying them. It was not until 1781 that Maryland, the last State, ratified them. The Articles had their value, but it was evident that the time had come for a change, for it was impossible that a national government could exist under them much longer. Their chief fault was that they conferred no power upon the government to enforce any of its decrees or legislation.

At length a national convention was called to consider what should be done to remedy the difficulties under which the country was laboring. This convention was called to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Notwithstanding that the political conditions of the country so clearly needed a reformation, only fifty-five of the seventy-three delegates chosen put in an appearance, but they included many of the ablest men of the whole country.

Pennsylvania's Delegates to the Convention. — Pennsylvania sent eight delegates, of whom the most important were Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris.[1] From Virginia came George Wash-

[1] Franklin was not chosen at first, but was added later. The others, in addition to those named, were Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, and Thomas Fitzsimmons. The delegates were chosen by the Assembly.

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ington and James Madison; from New York, Alexander Hamilton; from Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry; from Connecticut, Roger Sherman; from Delaware, John Dickinson. By common consent Washington was made president of the convention, and William Jackson of South Carolina was chosen secretary. The convention met in Independence Chamber, and sat with closed doors. Behind these doors for four months the debate went on, and no one outside knew what was said. Never, perhaps, were deliberations so carefully and successfully guarded. It was not until the death of James Madison (1836) the last survivor, that anything approaching a full account of the proceedings was available.[1] The new Constitution was given to the public in September, 1787.

Constitution of the United States. — The new Constitution was before the country for its adoption or rejection. Naturally the members of the radical party in Pennsylvania were opposed to the kind of government such a document provided for. It was full of checks and restrictions, which were precisely the things they abhorred. The supporters of the Constitution were shrewd politicians, and they determined to take no risks of defeat which could be avoided, and so by somewhat sharp practice managed to have a convention called at an early date. It was about time for the election of a new Assembly, at which election it was generally supposed the question would turn on the adoption or rejection of the Constitution, but in the closing days of the old Assembly, George Clymer moved that a ratifying convention should be held in November. This was carried

[1] Even Madison's account was very brief, consisting of short notes made from day to day. Other "notes" have since been published, but Madison's account is the fullest.

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by a vote of forty-three to nineteen. Fearful of what might come next, the minority resolved to absent themselves so there would be no quorum for transacting business. But when the Assembly met the next morning, a crowd of the people in the streets seized two of the minority, whom they found in their rooms, and carried them bodily into the state house. "Their clothes were torn and they were white with rage," but they completed the quorum, and a convention was called for November 21st.

Ratification of the United States Constitution in Pennsylvania. — One of the fiercest political struggles that the State has ever seen took place over the ratification of the United States Constitution. A perfect deluge of pamphlets was issued. The supporters of each side attacked their opponents in strong language, and there were riots in the streets.

The State was divided, the city and eastern counties, which had experienced the evils of the radical rule, were strongly in favor of the adoption of the Constitution, and here the Federalists, or supporters of the measure, had an overwhelming majority. The western counties, where the Scotch-Irish were numerous, were as strongly opposed, and there the Anti-Federalists had an overwhelming majority. The convention met November 21st, 1787. The Anti-Federalists were outvoted and the Constitution was adopted December 12, by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three.[1] But Pennsylvania has not the credit of being the first to ratify. That honor went to Delaware which, on December 7, ratified the measure by a unanimous vote. The early ratification by Pennsylvania had a powerful influence in determining the action of other States.

[1] Of seven eastern counties every vote, except one of Lancaster, was cast for the adoption; while the western counties cast nineteen of the negative votes.

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Celebration of the Adoption of the Constitution. — Nine States had ratified the new Constitution by June 21, 1788, and through the adoption four days later by Virginia, the new form of government was assured. "The 4th of July, 1788, witnessed such rejoicings as have perhaps never been seen before or since on American soil." Not the least was the celebration in Philadelphia. It was the first of the pageants, and, considering the times, has never been surpassed. At sunrise, July 4th, the city bells were rung and a salute fired from the vessel *Rising Sun* in the river. Ten ships richly decorated, and representing the ten States, were stationed from "New Hampshire" at Callowhill Street, to "Georgia" at Cedar (South) Street. At eight o'clock the procession started from Third and Cedar (South) Streets and went through the principal streets of the city. The pageant was a mile and a half long, and it was estimated that five thousand men were in the line. Conspicuous above everything was the "Grand Federal Edifice," which was a dome supported by thirteen Corinthian pillars, three of them uncompleted. This building was placed on a float drawn by ten white horses. On top of the dome was a statue of Plenty with a cornucopia; then there was a Federal ship *Union;* then representatives from various trades with men and women working; and hosts of other exhibits. The oration of the day was given by James Wilson.

Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790. — The success of the Federal Convention and the ratification by Pennsylvania of the Constitution of the United States gave new life to the Federalists, and they determined to have a new Constitution for Pennsylvania. A convention was called which met in Philadelphia, November, 1789. It prepared a constitution and then adjourned in February, 1790, until the following

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August, thus giving ample time for the document to be discussed. When the convention reassembled the instrument was adopted without being referred to a popular vote.

The new Constitution was to a large extent modeled on that of the United States. The old executive council, the single legislative house, and the censors were swept away, and a governor to be elected by the people, and a legislature of two houses took their place. Most of the important State officials, including the judges, were to be appointed by the governor. The new Constitution took effect at once (October, 1790).[1] General Thomas Mifflin was elected governor and was twice re-elected, holding office until 1799.

New Charter for Philadelphia, 1789. — In March, 1789, the Assembly had passed an act creating the "Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia" a body politic. The charter was much more democratic than the old one. The aldermen, and the members of the common council were elected by the people. The mayor was chosen annually by the aldermen.

Samuel Powel, who had been mayor when the old charter came to an end, was the first mayor under the new regulations. The city at this time was bounded by the two rivers on the east and west, and by Vine and Cedar (South) Streets, on the north and south.

Death of Franklin. — On April 17, 1790, Benjamin Franklin died at the age of eighty-five. His funeral is said to have been witnessed by 20,000 people. The bells were muffled and tolled, and minute guns fired while the funeral procession moved. He was laid beside his wife in Christ Church burying ground, corner of Fifth and Arch Streets. A simple horizontal marble slab marks their grave.

[1] This Constitution was in force until 1838.

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Philadelphia the National Capital. — By a resolution of the first Congress of the United States, Philadelphia was to be the capital of the country for the ten years from 1790 to 1800. Meanwhile a new city on the banks of the Potomac (Washington) was to be constructed as the permanent abode of the government. In accordance with this decision the offices of the Federal government were moved to Philadelphia late in 1790, and in December of the same year Congress began its sessions. Congress met in the court house of Philadelphia County on the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, which was offered for the purpose. The Senate met in the second story, and the House of Representatives occupied the lower floor. This building was soon known as Congress Hall.[1] In it Washington was inaugurated for the second time, and in it delivered his Farewell Address. Here also John Adams took the oath of office as second President of the United States. In 1790 John Adams, Vice-President,

CONGRESS HALL, PHILADELPHIA
National Capitol 1790–1800

[1] No payment was ever made for the ten years' use of Congress Hall, a fact not to the credit of the national Congress.

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presided over the Senate of twenty-six members recently made complete by ratification of the Constitution by Rhode Island in May of that year. The speaker of the House of Representatives was Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, one of the three distinguished sons of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the great leader of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania.[1] The Supreme Court of the United States held its sessions in the building on the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, beginning in 1791.[2]

President Washington in Philadelphia. — The Department of State occupied a building on the northwest corner of Eighth and Market Streets; the Treasury was at the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets; and the other departments were housed wherever suitable accommodations could be found. President Washington occupied the fine residence of Robert Morris on Market Street below Sixth. Here he maintained a stately hospitality. He held receptions every other Tuesday afternoon. Washington had exalted ideas of the dignity belonging to his station, and on such occasions he never shook hands with any one, but received all with a dignified bow. "He stood before the fireplace, his hair was powdered and gathered behind in a silk bag, and he wore coat and breeches of plain black velvet, white or pearl-colored waistcoat, yellow gloves, a cocked hat in his hand, silver knee- and shoe-buckles, and a long sword, with a finely wrought and glittering steel hilt, the coat worn over it and its scabbard of polished white leather."

[1] The other sons were John Peter Gabriel, a general in the Continental army, who is the preacher in T. B. Read's "Wagoner of the Alleghanies"; and Gottlieb Heinrich, a preacher, and one of the most distinguished botanists of his day.

[2] These two buildings present the same external appearance as they did in the eighteenth century. The interior of Congress Hall was restored in 1913.

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An account of the United States government belongs to national history and cannot be dwelt upon here, but it is sufficient to say that the official life added much to the interest and gayety of life in Philadelphia.

The French Revolution and its Effect in America. — The news of the French Revolution (1792) excited a great deal of feeling in America, especially in Pennsylvania. This was chiefly due to the activity of Genet, the French minister to the United States, who did his best to arouse feeling in favor of France and against England. So successful was he that John Adams wrote that there were ten thousand men in the streets threatening to drag Washington from his house to compel a declaration of war against England. The French partisans wore tri-colored badges and liberty caps. Genet, at the request of Washington, was recalled by the French government.

Bank of the United States; Insurance Companies. — As Robert Morris had put the finances of the Revolution on a safe basis, so now Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was to do the same for the new Union. Part of his plan was a Bank of the United States. Such an institution was chartered February 25, 1791, and is known as the first Bank of the United States. The bank began business in Carpenters' Hall, and in July, 1797, was removed to its own building on south Third Street, now occupied by the Girard National Bank.[1] In 1792 the United States Mint was established in a building on Seventh Street near Filbert, and David Rittenhouse was the first Director. In 1794 two

[1] When the charter of the bank came to an end the building was bought by Stephen Girard. It later became the property of the Girard Bank. Though the interior has undergone many changes, the Third Street front remains as it was, a fine example of the classical architecture of its day.

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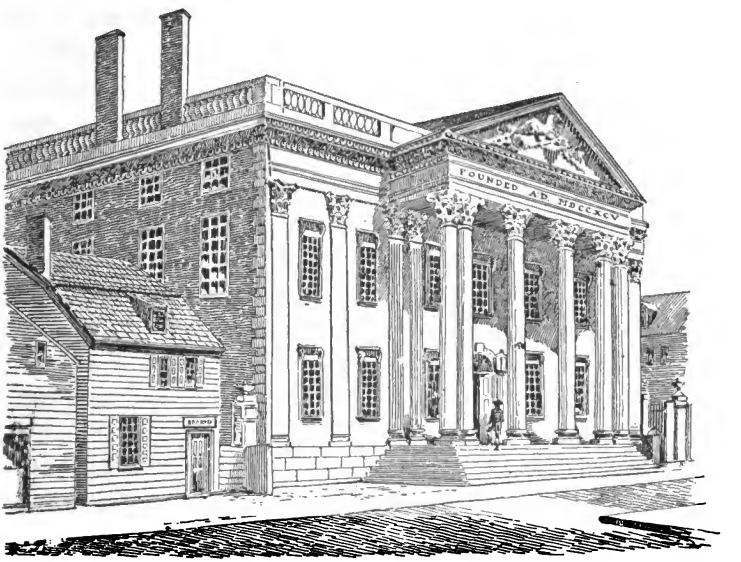
insurance companies were chartered: the Insurance Company of North America and the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania. In 1791 the Bank of North America gave notice that hereafter all business would be transacted in dol-



BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, 1797

lars and cents, instead of pounds, shillings, and pence, but the change was not general until 1800.

Roads and Canals. — The great increase of trade and commerce made some improvement in the means of communication a necessity, and the construction of turnpike roads began. The first of these was the Lancaster "pike" from Philadelphia to Lancaster, the first artificial road of such extent in the United States. It was sixty-two miles long. The first attempt was not a success. But an English road-builder, familiar with the Macadam system, was found,

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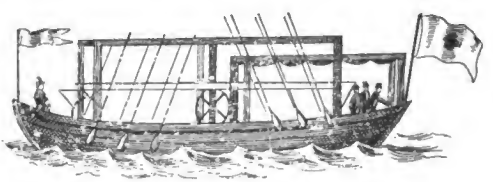
and a road was built which was the pride of the State and a model for the rest of the country.[1] Over this turnpike for forty years an extensive wagon trade was carried on with the West of that day, and thousands of emigrants passed over it to their new homes. A turnpike was opened to Germantown and Chestnut Hill late in the century.

The value of canals as a cheap means for the transportation of goods attracted much attention at this time, and a number of these were projected, chief among them being the Schuylkill Canal. So sure were the people that this would be a success that they subscribed more than six times the amount of capital needed.

Steam Navigation; Fitch; Evans. — This was also the era of experiments in steam navigation. One of the earliest experimenters in this field was James Rumsey of Virginia. At the same time John Fitch, a native of Connecticut, was making experiments in Pennsylvania. In 1786 he placed upon the Delaware River a steam vessel having six oars on each side; as six came out of the water, six entered it. He made several modifications of his steamer, all of which were fairly successful. In 1788 one of his boats was run between Philadelphia and Burlington, New Jersey, a distance of twenty miles, in three hours, and in 1790 a more or less regular schedule was followed, the fare being two shillings and six pence. But the enterprise was not a



"PERSEVERANCE"

John Fitch's first steamboat, as seen on the Delaware in 1787

[1] The road was constructed by a stock company, and tolls were charged.

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commercial success, the boat was wrecked, and Fitch left Philadelphia.[1] It remained for Robert Fulton, a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to make steam navigation commercially successful. But the story of his efforts does not belong to the history of Pennsylvania.

Oliver Evans, an engineer of Philadelphia, spent much time and money in experiments with steam as a motive power. He built in 1804 a steamboat with paddle wheels, which went up the Delaware as far as Beverly, New Jersey. He also tried to make steam carriages, and as early as 1802 had built one which ran a short distance. In 1805 he made a more successful one. But his money gave out and he was not able to do more. It is said that he prophesied that the time would come when carriages propelled by steam would run as fast as twenty miles an hour. In this period also an attempt was made at Mauch Chunk to mine and use anthracite coal. But owing to the abundance of wood for fuel, and to ignorance of how to use the hard coal, the attempt to bring the latter into common use was a failure.

Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, 1793. — These financial, commercial, and other enterprises received a severe check in 1793 by the coming of a terrible pestilence, the yellow fever, which probably was brought to the city by a ship crowded with refugees from Haiti. From August to November the ravages of the dread disease went on. By September 1st most of the citizens that could leave had done so, and hundreds of stores and houses were closed, business being practically suspended. The number of deaths was so great that it was difficult to get the dead buried in proper time. Men

[1] Fitch went to Paris, then returned as a common sailor to New York. Here he continued his experiments and propelled a small craft with a screw, anticipating the much later invention of Ericsson.

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were afraid to greet their friends except with a nod of recognition, and walked in the center of the streets to get as far from the houses as possible. A hospital was opened at the mansion of "Bush Hill," and two men, Peter Helm and Stephen Girard, volunteered to take charge of it. During the next six weeks about one half of those taken to this hospital died. The medical knowledge of the day was unable to cope with the pestilence, and much of the treatment employed is now known to have been useless if not positively harmful. Perhaps the best thing that was done was a thorough cleaning of the streets by the city authorities. The devotion of the physicians and of others to the stricken ones is beyond praise.

The Legislature met in August, but adjourned in a few days. President Washington, who had gone to Mount Vernon early in August, returned in November, and went to Germantown.[1]

When cold weather arrived the pestilence came to an end.[2] The city was visited by the yellow fever almost every summer after this for ten years, and in 1797, 1798, and 1799, it was especially fatal. One result of this suffering was the enactment of legislation to secure better sanitary measures, the adoption of a quarantine system, and improvement in the hospitals.

Farming and Manufacturing. — The history of political affairs and of the incidents connected with Philadelphia has claimed most attention, but the State was progressing rapidly

[1] While there he occupied what is known as the "Morris House," which is in admirable preservation. It is now 5442 Germantown Avenue.

[2] Of the 28,000 persons who were left after the exodus of those who could get away, there were during the ten weeks of the visitation, between 4,000 and 5,000 persons who died.

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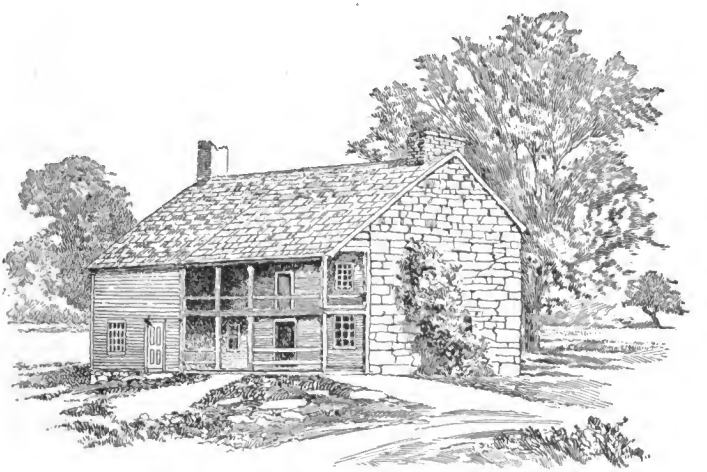
in the country districts as well. Farming was profitable, and the German farmers were probably the best in the whole land. In the settled part of the country the population was industrious. Manufacturing in various parts of the State was increasing, and a beginning had been made in developing the natural resources, but no one yet dreamed of the vast wealth that was later to be acquired by mining and manufacturing.



FERGUS MOORHEAD HOUSE, INDIANA COUNTY

Built by the first settlers of Indiana County, about 1778, upon the site where he had built a log cabin in 1772, a few miles from the present town of Indiana

Transportation Problems; the Whiskey Tax. —Means of transportation were all the time becoming better for the eastern farmers, and there was a steady and good market for their grain and produce. But the farmers west of the Alleghanies had practically no market for their produce. The vast region west of the Ohio River was a wilderness.

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The only way in which the Scotch-Irish farmers of the western part of the State could market their grain at profitable prices was to turn it into whiskey, for a barrel of whiskey could be transported with much greater ease than the grain required to make the whiskey. So extensive was this trade that whiskey, like tobacco in Virginia, was used as money. In 1791 Congress, to raise funds, laid an excise, or, as we should say, an internal revenue tax upon whiskey.

These hot-headed men of the West were at once aroused by this law and determined not to pay the tax. The Pennsylvania Legislature declared the tax to be excessive. Besides this, the tax had been imposed by a Federalist Congress and most of the Western men were Anti-Federalists. Moreover, the danger from the Indians on the western frontier tended to keep the population in an excited condition.

The government found it difficult to secure tax-collectors. When one was appointed, he was seized, stripped, tarred and feathered, and otherwise ill-treated. When warrants were issued against the offenders the United States marshals were afraid to serve them. These acts ended the attempt at collection of taxes until 1794, when Congress resolved that the taxes must be collected.

The Whiskey Insurrection, 1794. — When legal writs were issued against a number of the distillers for breaking the law, it was rumored that the accused men were to be taken away from their own neighborhood for trial in Philadelphia. The house of the government inspector was attacked, and one man was killed and several wounded. The next day the inspector's house was attacked again and burned, but not before the leader of the mob had been shot.

The leaders now tried to bring so many into the ranks of the mob that it would be impossible to punish all. Various

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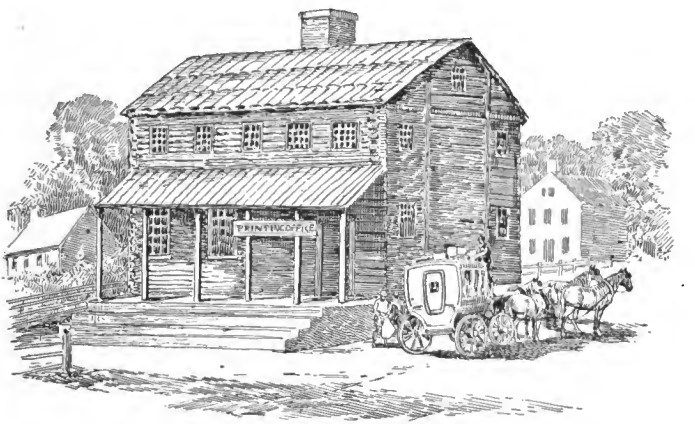
acts of lawlessness were committed, and several thousand men, it is said, assembled on Braddock's Field, ready for almost any kind of lawlessness. The headquarters of the government officers were at Pittsburgh, then a place of about twelve hundred inhabitants. The rioters, anxious to do something, threatened to march in and destroy that "Sodom," as they called it.



First Post Office at Pittsburgh

The town people appointed agents to treat with the rioters, and it was agreed that four men objectionable to the attacking party should be sent out of the town, and the rest of the inhabitants should march to Braddock's Field. The next day the rioters went to Pittsburgh and encamped on the edge of the town. The householders carried provisions and whiskey out to them, and their anger was quieted.

But such rebellion against the government could not be ignored, or all authority would be lost. Governor Mifflin was called upon to put down the rising, but he hesitated,

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either on account of timidity or of sympathy with the rebels. President Washington acted with vigor, and made a requisition upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New Jersey for 15,000 troops. Before issuing orders to march he sent three commissioners who were joined by two appointed by Governor Mifflin to meet the leaders of the rioters. The visit of the commissioners did not produce very satisfactory results, so President Washington issued a proclamation of warning, and then set the little army in motion under the command of Governor "Harry" Lee of Virginia. He himself accompanied the troops as far as Bedford. Governor Mifflin by this time had become very energetic and put himself at the head of the Pennsylvania militia.

Fortunately, this demonstration was sufficient to break down all opposition, and before the troops crossed the mountains the insurgents had disbanded and gone to their homes. Few arrests were made, and no one was convicted of treason. Two who were convicted, the one of arson and the other of mail robbery, were both pardoned by Washington. The Whiskey Rebellion was ended.

That the end was peaceful was largely due to a young man named Albert Gallatin, who by his eloquence and ability persuaded the men to cease further resistance and accept the terms offered by the commissioners.

Albert Gallatin. — Albert Gallatin, one of the most distinguished men of the United States, was a highly educated Swiss who came to America in 1780, when he was about twenty years old. He was first an instructor in Harvard College, and then he went out to Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and became a manufacturer and a farmer. He soon attained a prominent position in the community and was sent to the Legislature. In 1793, when he was only

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thirty-two, he was chosen to the United States Senate, but lost his seat after a few months through a technicality.[1]

Immediately after the Whiskey Rebellion he was chosen to the United States House of Representatives, but was again rejected on a technicality. He was immediately re-elected and served in the House six years (1795–1801), when he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, by President Jefferson, an office which he held twelve years. Next to Alexander Hamilton he is probably the ablest public financier the country has had.

The Fries Rebellion. — The Whiskey Insurrection was not the only resistance made in Pennsylvania against national taxation. In 1798 Congress laid a tax upon slaves, houses, and lands. By this time there were so few slaves in Pennsylvania that the tax amounted to little, but a tax on houses was quite a different matter. This tax was upon the value of the house estimated by the number and size of the windows. This seemed to the Germans a very unfair method and the tax an unjust one, and payment was resisted.[2] A man named John Fries, an auctioneer, and a good "stump-speaker," went about the country for several months denouncing the tax in unmeasured language. He was accompanied by about sixty men, marching to the sound of a fife and drum, all of which created much excitement. For a time he was not interrupted, but one day in his absence a dozen of his men were arrested by the United States Marshal and taken to Bethlehem. Fries promptly attempted a rescue. Leading

[1] Being foreign born, it was needful for him to have been nine years a citizen of the United States, and he had taken out his naturalization papers only eight years before.

[2] This is sometimes called the "Hot-water Rebellion" from the fact that in some places the women poured hot water on the assessors while they were measuring the windows.

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a large band of men he appeared before the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, where the men were confined, and upon demanding his men they were given up. At the request of President Adams, Governor Mifflin called out the militia. This was sufficient to end the rebellion. Fries fled, concealed himself in a swamp south of Allentown, where he was unwittingly betrayed by his little dog "Whiskey," his constant companion. He was tried for treason and convicted, but was allowed a second trial at which he was again convicted. President Adams pardoned him. Some of his followers were also convicted, but escaped with comparatively light punishments. This rebellion, if so it can be called, is usually known as the "Fries Rebellion." The speedy downfall of the "Whiskey" and the "Fries" rebellions imparted great strength to the new Federal Government. These incidents demonstrated the fact that the Federal Government intended to enforce its laws, which the old government could not do.

Choice of a State Capital. — It has already been mentioned that there was, in 1784, some effort made to remove the State capital from Philadelphia, though nothing definite was accomplished. The project had not been given up, and there were many good reasons for the change. Traveling was slow and expensive, and the journey even from the center of the State was long and difficult. On the ground of fairness to all a location nearer the center of the State was desirable. More than this, the law-makers had not forgotten the threatenings of the "Paxton Boys," the forcible means used to complete a quorum, and the various acts of mob violence and intimidation. Then, again, the interests of the western counties were supposed to be different from those of the eastern, and should not be exposed to the hostility of the east, where it was believed free speech could

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not be secured. All these, but especially the latter, created a strong feeling in favor of removal of the capital from Philadelphia. In 1795 the House voted in favor of Carlisle, but the Senate did not agree; the next year Lancaster was the choice, but again the Senate disagreed. In 1798 Harrisburg and Wright's Ferry, York County, were voted for, but there was no choice. At last, in April, 1799, Lancaster was chosen, the change to go into effect in November of the same year.[1]

National Government moved to Washington, 1800. — In 1800, the National Government was moved to Washington, so Philadelphia, within a short time, was deprived of both State and National governments. This double loss was a serious injury to the city. For many years her interests were to be almost wholly local and her citizens were to suffer in many ways because of a narrower political and intellectual horizon.

[1] The seat of the State government remained at Lancaster until 1812, when it was moved to Harrisburg, where it has since remained.

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CHAPTER XV

CONDITIONS IN THE STATE ABOUT 1800

Sympathy with France; Riots.—The closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening ones of the nineteenth were marked by much excitement and party feeling. The worst name that could be given to a man was to call him a Tory, the popular sympathy being wholly with the French; and it was only when news of the ill-treatment of the three envoys of the United States by the French Directory reached Philadelphia that enthusiasm for France and things French was lessened. A revulsion came when Citizen Adet, the French minister to America, issued an address to the people of the United States, intended to arouse them against their own government. While the excitement was at its height, Gilbert Fox, a young actor at the Chestnut Street Theatre, called upon Joseph Hopkinson, a lawyer, well known for his literary and artistic tastes, to write a song that could be sung to a very popular air of the day, known as the "President's March." [1] He complied, and on the evening of April 25, 1798, Fox sang "Hail Columbia," accompanied by a full band and a "grand chorus." It made a great sensation, was sung in the streets and theatres of Philadelphia and New York, and did much to create a national sentiment. How violent was the feeling can be judged from the fact that on May 8, 1798, which President Adams set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, the streets of Philadelphia were crowded

[1] This march was composed about 1793 by Philip Phile, a German music master in Philadelphia.

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with excited men shouting and acting in such a riotous way that Governor Mifflin had "to order patrols of horse and foot to preserve the peace." President Adams, who occupied the Robert Morris house on Market Street, writes of the same day, "I myself judged it prudent and necessary to order chests of arms from the war office to be brought through by lanes and back doors, determined to defend my house at the expense of my life and the lives of the few, very few, domestics and friends within it." [1]

Libels in the Newspapers. — The newspaper press during this time was perhaps more bitter in its personal abuse than at any other period in the nation's history. The passage of the unwise Alien and Sedition Laws by the Federalist Congress, gave the Anti-Federalist and French party good grounds for complaint, of which they made much use. It is quite possible that in passing these laws Congress was influenced by the abuse already received in the newspaper press. The Philadelphia paper which had been the most abusive was the *Aurora*. Its editor, William Duane, had come to Philadelphia in 1795, and by his caustic and severe articles had exerted much influence. He was a violent partisan and was not restrained even by the laws against libel. It is reported that there were sixty libel suits against him at one time. He was the leader of the extreme Anti-Federalists. The Federalists were supported by John Fenno in his *Gazette of the United States*, which was scarcely less violent than the *Aurora*. Still another journalist was William Cobbett, an Englishman, who established *Porcupine's Gazette*, in which he defended England and the English party. He was a master

[1] President Adams was especially obnoxious to the French or Republican party, and for the whole time of his stay in Philadelphia, he suffered unbridled and fierce persecution in the newspapers.

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of incisive English, and, like Duane, unsparing in his use of language. He, too, was repeatedly charged with libel. The most noted case was that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, whom he had slandered. Dr. Rush gained a verdict for $5000 damages.[1] This ruined Cobbett, and later he returned to England, where he published for many years his valuable *Political Register*.

Governor McKean. — The successor to Governor Mifflin was Thomas McKean, who served three terms (1799–1808). He was of humble parentage. He was educated at the New London Academy and then studied law. When twenty-eight he was chosen to the Delaware Assembly and held the position eleven years. Delaware sent him to the Continental Congress, and he signed the Declaration of Independence. In 1777 he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He was chosen president of the Congress in 1781. He drew up the Constitution of Delaware, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1790 in Pennsylvania. He was strongly democratic in his feelings. He not unfrequently used violent language. After his election he called the Federalists "traitors, refugees, Tories, French aristocrats, British agents, apostate Whigs." He was continually at odds with the Legislature, and once came near being impeached. He was an honest man and had a large following among the people.

Pennsylvania Votes for Jefferson and Burr. — The Presidential election of 1800 was one of the most exciting the country has witnessed. In Pennsylvania, as in most of the States at that time, the Presidential electors were chosen by the Legislature. But the House was Anti-Federalist or Demo-

[1] It is said that some of Cobbett's friends paid the damages, and Dr. Rush, having had his honor vindicated, devoted the money to charity.

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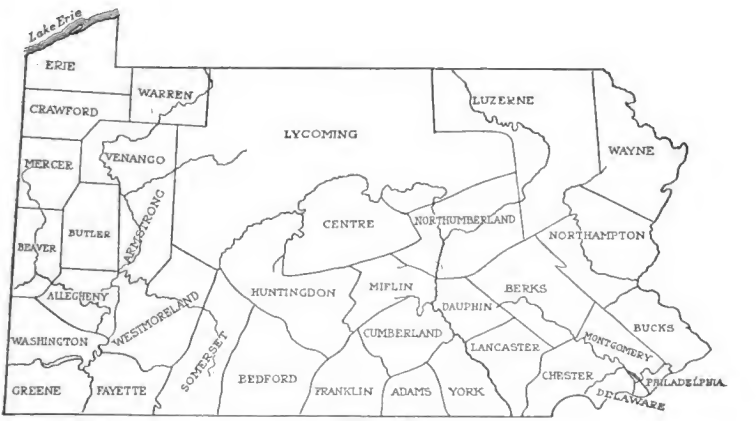
cratic, and the Senate Federalist. A compromise was reached by which each House should select eight candidates, and these should jointly choose the fifteen electors to which the State was entitled. The result was that Jefferson and Burr received eight votes, and Adams and Pinckney seven. When the



PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES IN 1800

electoral votes of the States were counted at Washington, it was found that Jefferson and Burr had each sixty-six votes, Adams sixty-five, and Pinckney sixty-four. This result, according to the requirements in the Constitution at that time, threw the final choice upon the House of Representatives, where the vote must be taken by states. After most exciting scenes the House chose Jefferson; and Burr became Vice-President. In the election the vote of Pennsylvania was given to Jefferson.[1]

At the news of the choice of Jefferson the radical popula-

[1] The members of Congress and many persons in the country at large congratulated themselves that Congress was sitting at Washington and not among the excitable people of Philadelphia.

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tion of Philadelphia went wild with joy. But even Jefferson was too conservative; the people, it was said, should do everything; "one man is as good as another." Indeed so extreme was the position taken that the moderate men of the Democratic-Republican party were much disturbed. Such was the state of political parties at the close of the century.

"Conestoga" Wagon of Pennsylvania

Early Towns. — By this time a number of towns had grown up. Chester was the oldest town in the State, and there had been added Lancaster (1730), Bethlehem (1741), Reading (1748), Lebanon (1750), Allentown (1751), Easton (1752), and others. In the center of the state were Harrisburg, Bedford, York, Wrightstown, and in the extreme west, Pittsburgh, which in 1800 had less than 2000 population.

Internal Improvements; Modes of Travel. — With the growth of population and the founding of towns the need for internal improvements was manifest. Various enterprises were undertaken, the most important of which was the extension of the Lancaster road to Pittsburgh; this road then became more than ever the great route to the West. Goods were carried chiefly by means of large Conestoga wagons,

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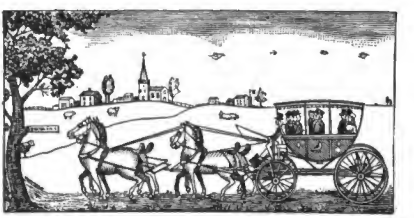
which, with their picturesque cotton cloth covers and teams of six, eight, or even more sleek, well-fed horses, were an interesting sight. In 1804 a stage line was established, and once a week a stage started for Pittsburgh; the journey took a week. At Pittsburgh the traveler could take a boat and float down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans.

Traveling was costly, and the stages of the day were uncomfortable vehicles. Their bodies were swung high over heavy wheels; the passengers sat on benches which ran from side to side and faced the horses.



AN OLD TIME STAGE COACH

There were no backs except on the rear seat, which was usually given up to women. The passengers all entered at the front and clambered over the benches, for there were no side doors; when it rained, leather curtains in which there were no windows were let down and fastened with buckles and straps.

Bridges. — Another improvement was the building of bridges over rivers. The bridge of boats over the Schuylkill at Middle Ferry (Market Street) left by the British, had been replaced by a similar one. After considerable discussion it was determined to build a permanent structure. The corner stone was laid in 1800, and the bridge, built of wood, was opened in 1805. It was soon roofed over for protection from the weather, and is believed to have been the first covered bridge in the United States. The total cost was $300,000. A bridge was also constructed across the Delaware at Trenton, as well as others at various places.

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Philadelphia's Water Supply. — Philadelphia had grown to be so large a city that the question of a water supply became an important one. The city was, in 1798, still supplied with water from pumps in every street, placed near the road-bed, at distances of about sixty or seventy feet. There were few sewers, and they were not properly made; much of the household refuse and garbage was thrown out in the alleys, and in the back-yards of the houses. At this time a skilful English architect, Benjamin H. Latrobe,[1] came to Philadelphia, and the matter of water supply was entrusted to him. He decided that water-works should be erected on the banks of the Schuylkill near the city. From these the water could be pumped by steam power into a raised reservoir, so it could be distributed throughout the city. The plan met with great opposition, but was adopted. The place chosen for the works was where Chestnut Street now meets the Schuylkill.[2] The water was carried in a brick tunnel down Chestnut Street to Broad, then to Centre Square (the site of the present City Hall), where an engine raised it thirty-six feet above the ground into a reservoir. From this it was distributed in hollow logs, having a channel of three or four inches in diameter. These were sunk in all the principal streets. The work was begun in 1799. So great was the opposition that the works were injured several times. The water was turned on in January, 1801, and the results were all that the most hopeful had looked for — the health of the people was better, there was greater security against destruction by fire, and habits of cleanliness were induced and strengthened.

[1] Latrobe was the architect of a number of buildings in Philadelphia, and of the original capitol at Washington.

[2] Chestnut Street was not paved beyond Fifth Street, so the site chosen was quite in the country, and the water was pure.

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Manufacture of Iron. — The iron industry, begun in 1720 at Coventry Forge, Chester County, had steadily increased, and there were furnaces in Montgomery, Berks, Chester, York and Cumberland counties, and in other places. It is stated that in 1786 there were seventeen furnaces within forty miles of Lancaster, besides mills for manufacturing iron. In the latter part of the century there were many forges and furnaces begun in the valley of the Juniata. The first furnace west of the Alleghanies was started at Jacob's Creek, where cannon balls were made for the defense of Pittsburgh against the Indians. All this iron was made in charcoal furnaces, for anthracite and bituminous coal were not yet used for smelting iron ore.

Manufactures; Tariff. — Manufacturing had also grown. A society for the purpose of aiding the industries of the State was formed under the name of "The Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts." This society offered prizes for the largest crops of hemp, flax, or cotton in Pennsylvania, for the best book printed in Philadelphia, the best piece of earthenware or glass, and for other things.

Two carding and spinning machines were brought from England in 1788 and set up on Market Street, and by the close of the year twenty-six looms were at work.[1] Germantown was celebrated for stockings, saddles, and carriages. Large quantities of hosiery were also made in Philadelphia, Reading, and Lancaster. In 1790, boots, shoes, and clogs were manufactured in large quantities, and paper also, there being over fifty paper mills whose chief market was Philadelphia.

The extent of the manufacturing interests and the possibility of further development led the Pennsylvanians to seek

[1] They made jeans, satinets, and other stuffs.

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government aid. As early as September, 1785, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed an act "to encourage and protect the manufactures of this State by laying additional duties on the importation of certain manufactures which interfere with them."[1] The duties were by no means light. Thus early began the support of a protective tariff in Pennsylvania, which for so many years has been the stronghold of protection.

Foreign Commerce. — Shipbuilding had been carried on successfully, and foreign commerce was flourishing. As a rule, the shipping merchants were the wealthiest men of Philadelphia. Their ships traded with Europe, India, China, the West Indies, and South America. Owing to the length of many of the voyages, the dependence upon wind and weather, and the uncertainty as to arrival, it was a business of great risk and of correspondingly large profit or loss. The vessels in which the trade was carried on were never larger than 500 tons, and many, even of those which sailed in the European trade, were not more than 200 tons burden.

Stephen Girard. — The most successful shipping merchant of the time in America was Stephen Girard, whose name and fortune are so closely allied with Philadelphia. He was born in 1750 not far from Bordeaux, France. He was brought up to the sea and became thoroughly familiar with maritime conditions and opportunties. He went as a cabin boy to the West Indies and rose to be a ship's captain. He came to Philadelphia in 1776, a merchant and shipowner. He had a keen sense of the possibilities of trade and admirable judgment, but he was nearly forty years old before he became even what might be

[1] It must be remembered that this was before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. No State could have passed such a law after the adoption.

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called rich. Of his money-making methods there are many stories told, most of them of rather doubtful authenticity.

He was a singular character. When a boy he had lost an eye by an accident, and his face was scarred. Soon after settling in Philadelphia he married the daughter of a Philadelphia ship-caulker, but the marriage was an unhappy one. He had few friends, and lived and worked, so far as appeared, to make money. About 1796 he moved to 23 North Water Street, where he could watch his vessels at the wharves; his store and office adjoined his house. The latter was richly fitted up with Italian marble floors, Parisian furniture, rich carpets, and statuary. He was hot-tempered and violent to his wife and brothers, and yet his care of those suffering from the yellow fever was tender and self-sacrificing. He professed unbelief in Christianity, and yet he subscribed to church buildings of various denominations, saying that they improved the city. He was rigid in requiring the last cent in all business transactions, and rated his employees soundly in broken English when any shortcoming was known to him.

STEPHEN GIRARD

One of the stories told of him is that one of his vessels was lying off Cape François, Haiti, at the time of the insurrection of the blacks. A number of the white planters put their valuables on board the ship for safe-keeping and returned to shore to take part in attempting to put down the revolt. The planters were killed and it was impossible to find any heirs, though Girard made due effort to do so. Girard finally

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turned the goods over to his own private account and profited thereby many thousand dollars. During the War of 1812 one of his vessels was captured near the capes of Delaware Bay by a British war-vessel. The vessel and cargo, which was from China, were worth at ordinary values about $180,000. When Girard heard of the capture he communicated with the British admiral, offering to ransom his vessel for $180,000. The admiral consented as the risk of recapture was great, and released the vessel which was brought to Philadelphia. Girard is said to have sold the cargo for more than $480,000. The public benefactions of Girard will be noticed later.

Buildings of the Eighteenth Century. — The Library Company of Philadelphia erected a building for itself on Fifth Street below Chestnut in 1790. In 1792 William Bingham, a wealthy citizen, gave the library a statue of Benjamin Franklin cut from Italian marble by Lazzarini, an Italian sculptor. It was placed in a niche in the front wall, and when the library was moved to its new building at Locust and Juniper streets, a similar position was given to it. In 1792 also the library accepted the Loganian library, and still takes charge of its books.[1]

One of the buildings of the eighteenth century which has not been mentioned is that of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The idea of a hospital for the sick and for the insane originated with Dr. Thomas Bond, and was taken up with energy by Benjamin Franklin. The hospital was chartered in 1751. The Proprietaries having been asked to contribute a lot, offered a portion of what is now Franklin Square, but the city claimed that this was public property. So the hospital was started in a house on the south side of Market Street above Fifth, which was then on the outskirts of the city. It is worthy

[1] They are kept at the Ridgway Branch, Broad and Christian streets.

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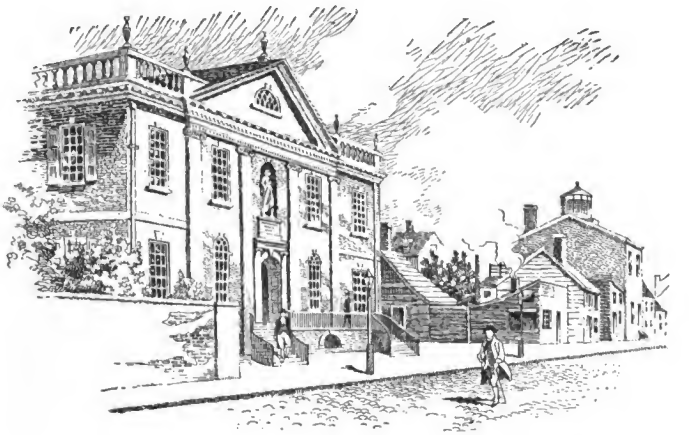
of remembrance that the seven physicians who had charge gave their time and services and furnished the drugs and medicines besides. In 1755 the managers bought for £500 a piece of ground on Pine Street extending from Eighth to Ninth streets. The remainder of the block to Spruce Street



THE OLD LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1799
Statue of Franklin over the door

was given to the Hospital by the Penn family. The corner stone of the first building was laid May 28, 1755, and the hospital was opened in 1756. The record of the Pennsylvania Hospital has been admirable, and the earlier buildings, like others of the eighteenth century, are more than pleasing. The lead statue of William Penn, which is in front of the center building, was given in 1804 by John Penn, grandson of William Penn.[1]

[1] This statue had belonged to Lord le Despencer. Franklin saw it in 1775 and wished to have a copy made for the Hospital, but it is probable that the stirring political events prevented any action. Lord le Despencer's successor sold it for old lead. John Penn saw it in a junk shop, bought it, and sent it to the Hospital (1804).

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Philadelphia a Literary Center. — Philadelphia, in the latter part of the eighteenth century and for about twenty years in the nineteenth, was the literary center of America.

The early literary work was chiefly in the shape of magazines. As early as 1741 Franklin and Bradford each began a magazine, of which Franklin's, *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America*, was the most successful. Others were attempted, but they usually were continued but a short time. In 1757 *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies* was begun, with Provost Smith of the University of Pennsylvania as editor. This was a creditable periodical and numbered among its contributors Francis Hopkinson, James Sterling, and others. Thomas Paine was the editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, begun in 1775; the *United States Magazine* appeared in 1786. Matthew Carey began the *Columbian Magazine*, and then the *American Museum*, which was chiefly composed of selections from British periodicals. All these, and others which might be mentioned, indicate a demand for literature.

Other publications also testify to the same demand. In 1782 Robert Aitken published the first American edition of the Bible in English; in 1790 Thomas Dobson published the first American edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica in twenty-one volumes, and it was at Philadelphia that the first American edition of Shakespeare was issued in 1795–1796.

One of the most distinguished names of this period in literature is Charles Brockden Brown, who is usually accounted as the first American novelist. He was born in Philadelphia in 1771, of an old Chester County Quaker family, and he attended the school which is now the William Penn

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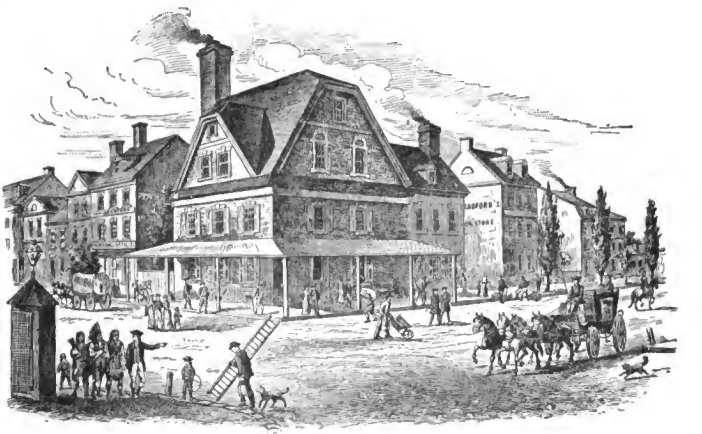
Charter School. He published five novels (1798–1804) which are imaginative and full of mystery and plot. One of them, *Arthur Mervyn*, contains a graphic account of the yellow fever visitation in Philadelphia, to which Brown himself nearly fell a victim. Later Brown became an editor. He died in 1810.



BRADFORD'S PRINTING OFFICE AND BOOK STORE
Adjoining the Old London Tavern in Philadelphia

The man who had at the time the widest reputation and contributed more to the literary fame of Philadelphia than any other person was Joseph Dennie, a Massachusetts man who had been a Harvard student. He founded in 1801 the *Port Folio*, which was continued until his death in 1812. He wrote in a clear and forcible style. He was greatly admired. He formed a club which included in its membership almost all the literary men of the city. About 1820 Philadelphia lost her literary supremacy, which went to New England.

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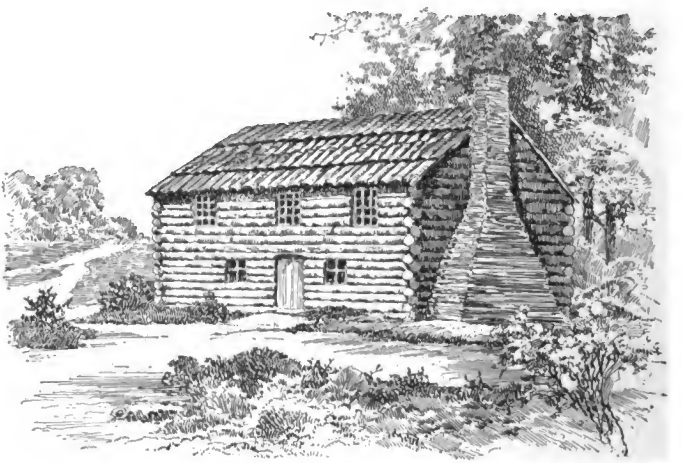
Education in the Eighteenth Century. — It is strange that though there was much literary activity in Philadelphia, and many highly educated men throughout the State, the general condition of education was low. Schools were poor and there had been little or no advance in the system and practice of teaching. Though the Constitution had provided for



LOG COLLEGE BUILDING

Erected at Neshaminy in 1727 for the school of William Tennant. This was the beginning of the Princeton University

the establishment of free schools for the poor, no effort had been made to establish them. One reason for this was that schools were carried on by the different denominations either directly or indirectly. The William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia has already been mentioned. Many prosperous schools had also been established in the country districts; by the Quakers near their meeting house; by the Episcopalians, whose schools at Oxford, Chester, Marcus Hook, Radnor, and Pequea (Lancaster County) were well known;

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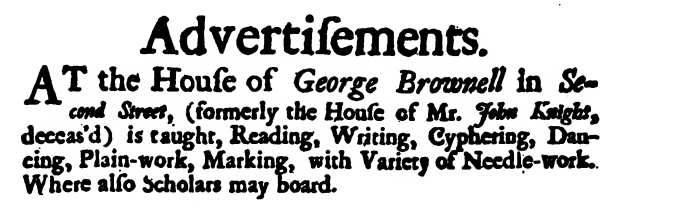
and by the Presbyterians, to whose efforts almost all the educational opportunities in the western counties were due. The Moravians were deeply interested in education, and their schools at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lititz were justly of high repute. Christopher Dock, a Mennonite, is said to be the author of the first book on school teaching published



Advertiſements.

AT the Houſe of *George Brownell* in *Second Street*, (formerly the Houſe of Mr. *John Knight*, deceas'd) is taught, Reading, Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Plain-work, Marking, with Variety of Needle-work. Where alſo Scholars may board.

ADVERTISEMENT OF MR. BROWNELL'S SCHOOL IN 1712
From the *Pennsylvania Gazette*

in America. The Germans were not so much interested in education, though the Germantown Academy (1760) was started by them.

In appreciation of higher education both the Germans and the Quakers were lacking, though in each denomination there were notable exceptions, as the Muhlenbergs among the Germans, and John Bartram and Nicholas Waln among the Quakers. Besides the University of Pennsylvania and Dickinson College, there was Franklin, afterwards Franklin and Marshall, College (1787). State grants were made to academies in Philadelphia, Germantown, Pittsburgh, Reading, and at other places. In 1799, largely through the influence of John Dickinson, the Friends founded a boarding school at Westtown, Chester County. Still there was neither a general system of public education nor a demand for it.

Notable Men in the Eighteenth Century. — Among the notable men of Pennsylvania during the latter part of the

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eighteenth century, besides those already named, there was Anthony Wayne, called "Mad Anthony" from the apparent recklessness of his military exploits. He was a native of Chester County, and seems to have been a soldier by nature. He entered the Continental army in 1776 and rose to the rank of Major General. He took an active part in the campaigns of the Middle Colonies, and was several times wounded. After the Revolution he rose to be Commander of the United States Army. He reduced the Indians of Ohio to submission. He died at Presque Isle (1796). There is a monument to him in the graveyard of old St. David's Church, Radnor, Delaware County.

ANTHONY WAYNE

One of the citizens with a European reputation was David Rittenhouse (1732–1796), who was of German descent.[1] He has already been mentioned in connection with running the boundary lines of the State. He was a mathematician and the best astronomer of his day in America. He made a very successful observation of the transit of Venus across the sun in 1769, and his work was so accurate and full that he attained a world-wide reputation.[2] He constructed instruments called orreries to illustrate the movements of the planets round the sun, which were much valued. He was a radical in politics and gave much time and attention to public

[1] The family called themselves in early days Rittinghuysen.

[2] His observations were made from a temporary platform in Independence Square.

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affairs. He helped to frame the Constitution of the State (1776), was State Treasurer (1777–1789), was a member of the Board of War, and the first Director of the United States Mint.

Another scientist of world-wide fame, though in a very different field, was John Bartram (1699–1777). He was born in Delaware County. He was the first man to make any extensive botanical researches in America, and so careful and accurate was he that Linnaeus, the great Swedish botanist, said that he was "the greatest natural botanist in the world." He was a self-educated man. He bought at a sheriff's sale a tract of land on the Darby road, near Philadelphia, where he began his botanical garden, the first in America. On this lot also he built (1730) with his own hands, the stone house which still stands in good preservation. He made several journeys, traveling from Canada to Florida in pursuit of botanical data and for collecting specimens. He corresponded with Dr. John Fothergill and Peter Collinson of London, both distinguished scientists. His garden, near Gray's Ferry bridge, Philadelphia, is now part of the city park system, and still contains some of the trees he planted.

Among the distinguished foreigners who came to Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century, or soon after its close, was Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), the chemist and discoverer of oxygen, who settled in Northumberland County. John James Audubon (1780–1851), the ornithologist, came from Louisiana, in 1798. Alexander Wilson (1766–1813), also an ornithologist, came from Scotland in 1794, followed his trade as a weaver, and then taught school at Kingsessing. He gained some knowledge of birds from William Bartram, son of John Bartram, and became filled with the desire to describe and picture American birds. This led to extensive travels.

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His work, published in folio volumes, with pictures of birds drawn and colored by himself, was the first of this kind, and was ably followed at a later date by those of Audubon.

ROBERT FULTON

Robert Fulton (1765–1815) was born in Lancaster County, and went to Philadelphia when about seventeen. He had a decided talent for drawing and painting and was quite successful as a portrait painter. He must have witnessed the early efforts of Fitch in steamboat navigation. He went to England in 1786 and studied under Benjamin West, but his taste ran to mechanical subjects, and for the rest of his life his attention was wholly given to them. The story of his success cannot be given here, but he is regarded as the father of successful, profitable steam navigation.

In another field was Benjamin West (1738–1820) the artist, who was of Quaker descent. He was born in a farmhouse on the grounds now belonging to Swarthmore College in what was then part of Chester, but is now in Delaware County. He early showed a taste for painting, and began painting portraits when he was seventeen. He visited Italy in 1760, and went to England in 1763. Here he gained a great reputation, becoming President of the Royal Academy (1792). He always retained a warm affection for his native State. He gave the Pennsylvania Hospital his large painting of Christ Healing the Sick.[1] He is most celebrated in America for his painting of Penn's Treaty with the Indians.

[1] Now deposited with the Academy of the Fine Arts.

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Benjamin Franklin. — Pennsylvania's greatest citizen was Benjamin Franklin. So many of his services have already been named that it is needful only to mention some that have been passed over. Nearly all that he did was practical.

FRANKLIN AND THE KITE

After a bronze tablet on the pedestal of the Greenough statue

Among other things he established a sort of debating club or mutual improvement society, called the Junto. Here chiefly scientific subjects were discussed and Franklin was accustomed to announce the results of his experiments in various fields. He was all the time observing. He was the first to notice that northeast storms moved against the wind from the west. In June, 1752, he performed his world-wide experiment with a kite, proving that lightning is electrical.[1]

[1] He gave an account of this experiment in a letter to Peter Collinson of London, who published it, with the result of greatly adding to Franklin's reputation.

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Philadelphia was troubled with smoky chimneys. Franklin set his wits to work and invented the Franklin stove, or, as he named it, the "Pennsylvania fireplace," which has hardly yet been improved upon. He investigated the phosphorescence which one notices so often at sea; he was largely influential in getting the streets of Philadelphia paved; he demonstrated the value of plaster on certain soils; in fact, his life was full of suggestions in many fields of human interest. One part of his work that still remains evident was the founding of various institutions. Thus the Pennsylvania Hospital, though first suggested by Dr. Thomas Bond, would not have been established when it was had it not been for him. In 1743 Franklin's Junto was united with the American Philosophical Society, an organization headed by the Penn family, which had been founded in 1727. This is the oldest association of the kind in America[1] Franklin's idea was to form a society composed of scientific and literary men in the various colonies, who should exchange information of what was being done in the various fields of knowledge. Franklin signed as the first member, and his signature is followed by that of John Bartram. Franklin, of course, was the first president, and David Rittenhouse was the second.[2] The Philadelphia Library was also due to him, as has been seen.

[1] Recent researches indicate that the American Philosophical Society was the result of a merger of Franklin's Junto and the American Philosophical Society, an organization headed by the Penn family, which was founded in 1727.

[2] Franklin's chair is still used by the president of the society. The seat of the chair can be turned up, forming a step-ladder — Franklin's own device.

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CHAPTER XVI

PENNSYLVANIA IN 1800–1817

Pennsylvania Democratic. — The population of Pennsylvania in 1790 was 434,373, and in 1800, 602,365 — a large increase. The State was prospering in every way.

With the election of Jefferson, Pennsylvania became attached to the Democratic-Republican party, later called Democratic. Governor McKean, though a Democrat, did not go to such an extreme as many of his party. He was re-elected in 1802 with a largely increased majority, having no opponent except the candidate of the Federalists, who were in great disfavor. He was elected for the third time in 1805 by a small majority. At this election he had as competitor, Simon Snyder, a German farmer, tanner, and storekeeper in Northumberland. Snyder was a man of small education but of very considerable ability. He had the advantage of being able to speak fluently in both English and German. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1790, was chosen a member of the Legislature, and was speaker for six successive terms, so that he was a man of wide experience in political affairs. He was a radical in politics. In the election for governor in 1808, though he had an able and highly educated opponent, James Ross of Pittsburgh, Snyder was chosen by the large majority of 28,000. He was the first of the governors of German descent, and the first who had not been a man of education and position. Not-

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withstanding the forebodings of the Federalists and their prophesies of evil, Snyder made an excellent governor and was twice re-elected,[1] serving until 1817.

Political Conditions; "Orders in Council." — The political condition of the United States during the whole of Snyder's term of office was one of unrest and experiment, and the prosperity which Pennsylvania had enjoyed during the latter years of the eighteenth and the earlier years of the nineteenth century was much checked by the measures taken by the National Government.

It was the period of the Napoleonic wars, and for a time America, being neutral, had profited; but England, in order to injure France, determined to put a stop to neutral trade, and so either blockaded almost all the western ports of the Continent or by her Orders in Council declared them closed. Napoleon retaliated by his decrees declaring English ports closed. England also claimed the right to stop all vessels to see if any British sailors were on board, and to seize or impress those she might claim to be such. The result was almost fatal to American commerce. If a vessel went to Europe without touching at an English port and paying dues or taxes on her cargo, she ran the risk of being taken by an English war-vessel and condemned. While if she did call at an English port she ran the risk of being captured and condemned by the French.

Embargo Act. — Jefferson, greatly averse to war, persuaded Congress to pass an Embargo Act (1807). This prohibited all foreign commerce, and those engaged in the coastwise trade were required to give heavy bond that they would not trade outside of the United States. This Act produced little

[1] According to the Constitution a governor could not serve more than three terms.

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effect abroad, for American commerce had not then reached a volume sufficient to affect Europe seriously by its stoppage. But in America the effect was disastrous, and nowhere more than in Pennsylvania, for her large commercial trade was killed. This reacted first on the manufacturers, and then on the farmers, for there was no foreign demand for their crops. The consequence was that farm produce went down in value, while all imported goods advanced, among them sugar, tea, and coffee, which were held at very high prices and were scarce.

The opposition to the Embargo came first from New England, then from Pennsylvania, and later even from the South. In 1809 Congress modified its action by passing the Non-intercourse Act. This removed all restrictions on trade except with England and France, but the good effects were comparatively small. Pennsylvania wavered in her loyalty to the Democratic party, and had the Presidential election of 1808 been decided by popular vote, the state would doubtless have gone against Madison.[1]

War of 1812. — The Embargo was followed by the War of 1812, which was, in every way, an unwise step, for the country was unprepared for war both financially and from a military and naval point of view. The war was provoked chiefly by England continuing to impress sailors, though the infringement of neutral rights by England, and the Orders in Council issued against Napoleon, but highly injurious to America, also had their influence. Had there been a telegraphic cable, hostilities would hardly have broken out. But the men in power, who were the younger members of the Democratic party, were eager to fight, and so war was rashly hurried

[1] The electors were chosen by the Legislature. At the election of 1804 the State had gone for Jefferson and Clinton.

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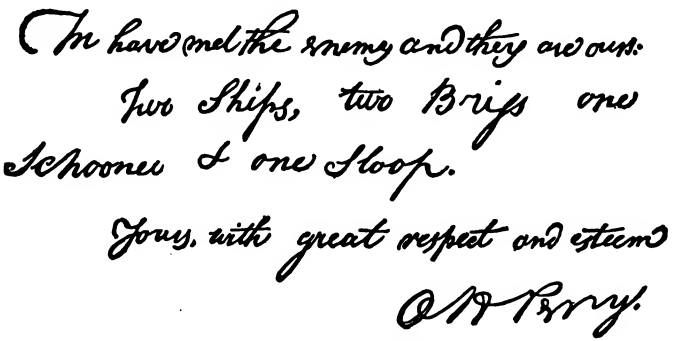
into. Neither America nor Great Britain has much to its credit in the land campaign.[1] The American navy, it is true, gained a number of victories, but it was too small to protect the coast, and during the last year of the war few vessels could come in or go out of American ports, so thoroughly was the Atlantic coast blockaded by the British cruisers.[2]



PERRY'S FAMOUS MESSAGE TO GENERAL HARRISON

No fighting took place in Pennsylvania. Once an invasion seemed imminent when the British forces threatened Baltimore; and once an attack by way of Lake Erie seemed probable, which, however, was prevented by Perry's brilliant victory on the Lake. Perry's little fleet was built at Erie and manned in part by Pennsylvanians. But if her soil had no battle ground, Pennsylvania provided more men and money[3] than any other State, and with the exception of Andrew

[1] The only substantial American victory on land was that at New Orleans, and it was fought after peace had been made by the American envoys in Europe, news of which had not reached America.

[2] There was no regular naval battle on the ocean, the encounter being between only two or three vessels at a time.

[3] Pennsylvania spent $268,000 which was afterwards paid by the National Government, and about double as much which she assumed herself.

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Jackson, furnished the most successful general, Jacob Brown. He was, like Thomas Mifflin of the Revolution, of a Quaker family. He later rose to be general-in-chief of the United States Army.

In the Navy Pennsylvania could point to James Biddle, captain of the *Hornet*, Charles Stewart,[1] captain of the *Constitution* or "Old Ironsides," and to Stephen Decatur, who, though born in Maryland, was really a Pennsylvanian,[2] whose achievements are part of national history.

THE "CONSTITUTION"
Launched in 1797

The blockade of the ports, the depression and losses in business, and other matters, cooled the enthusiasm for war. The country became sick of it. In Pennsylvania at the election for governor (1814) the Federalist candidate received nearly ten times as many votes as had been cast for the Federalist candidate three years before, and five Federalists were sent to Congress.

Peace; Tariff. — A treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. A large fleet of merchant vessels had been blockaded in the Delaware, and when the news of peace

[1] Charles Stewart was the maternal grandfather of Charles Stewart Parnell, the celebrated Irish leader.

[2] His parents left Philadelphia during the British occupation; while sojourning in Maryland their son was born; he was brought to Philadelphia when three months old.

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arrived they were soon at sea. Before long many vessels arrived from England, laden with goods for the American market. It had been nearly eight years since there had been any free entrance for foreign goods. At first enormous profits were made, with the result of vastly stimulating speculation. The usual results followed; the demand slackened, and then almost ceased. The supply of foreign-made goods almost destroyed the demand for homemade goods and brought financial disaster to manufacturers and merchants.[1] It was natural that American manufacturers should clamor for protection from foreign competition. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, generally political enemies, were now at one in demanding a protective tariff. Since this time Pennsylvania has been the great advocate of protection.

Alexander J. Dallas, an able Pennsylvania lawyer, had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury in Madison's cabinet soon after Gallatin was appointed one of the Peace Commissioners. Dallas was a supporter of a protective tariff, and used all his influence to secure one.

Financial Difficulties. — The charter of the first Bank of the United States expired by limitation in 1811, the Democratic Congress having declined to renew it.[2] This action left the United States government without any fiscal agent. The result was that, added to the natural disorder of the finances attendant upon war, the financial condition of the country became exceedingly bad. Albert Gallatin, though a Democrat, was strongly in favor of a renewal of the charter

[1] Foreign goods were generally sold at auction. After the demand had slackened the prices at which goods could be obtained was far below the cost of home production, and even below the cost of importation.

[2] The House passed the bill, but it was lost in the Senate by a tie vote. The Vice-President, George Clinton, recorded his disapproval of the measure by voting in the negative.

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of the Bank, pointing out the dangers which might be looked for if the charter should not be renewed; but it was in vain; party feeling ran too strongly.

Stephen Girard, a skilled financier himself, could not believe that the bill would fail, and finding the English stockholders were anxious to sell, bought largely of their stock, and lost in proportion. But when the Bank was closed he bought the splendid marble building on South Third Street, Philadelphia, and established a bank of his own, which he conducted so successfully that his notes were among the very few that never depreciated in value. He had by this time become a very wealthy man and was able to conduct large transactions with ease.

In 1813 the credit of the National Government was almost gone. The country was discontented and the New England States openly talked of secession. The government receipts had fallen far below the expenses and the need of a loan was urgent, but an attempt at popular subscription was a failure. At this juncture Girard and a few other wealthy men subscribed for the whole amount of the proposed loan, and the effect on the public was seen at once; people became eager to subscribe on the original terms, and the bankers sold at handsome profits.[1] But it must be remembered that the risk was great; their action was really patriotic.[2]

Second Bank of the United States. — Through the influence of Dallas and others the second Bank of the United States was chartered by Congress in 1816. The stock was not taken very rapidly. Girard, who highly approved of the project, waited until the last day for receiving subscrip-

[1] Girard offered the government 88 per cent, and asked 6 per cent interest.

[2] A somewhat similar incident happened during the Civil War when the New York banks came to the aid of the National Government.

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tions, and then put down his name for all the stock not subscribed for, amounting to over $3,000,000. At once there was a great demand, and Girard sold half of his holdings for what he had paid for the whole. As before, the Bank was established in Philadelphia, and a handsome marble building was erected for it on Chestnut street.[1]

A protective tariff bill passed by Congress in 1816 was ably supported by Samuel D. Ingram, a Pennsylvanian, and by Henry Clay.[2]

Pennsylvania Banks. — For the first ten years of the century there were only two banks in Pennsylvania besides the Bank of the United States: these were the Bank of North America and the Bank of Pennsylvania. These had branches for deposit in Pittsburgh, Lancaster, and Reading. In 1811, when the Bank of the United States went out of business, many State banks were organized. In 1814 a bill for chartering forty or more banks passed the Legislature, which Governor Snyder vetoed; but it was passed over his veto. A few years later there were nearly sixty banks in the State. Much paper money was issued on too small resources, and the large issues gave rise to speculation. Farmers who had mortgaged their farms in the hard times were compelled to sell at heavy loss, or even to surrender their farms to their creditors. The failure of the weaker banks increased the financial troubles and there was much real distress in the year 1819.

Immigration; Reforms. — The immigration from Ireland of a large number of the poorer class began about this time; while from Germany came many who repeated the redemptioner days of the early history of the State. Other

[1] This is now (1913) the United States Custom House.

[2] The duties were levied chiefly on cotton and woolen goods and on sugar.

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immigrants came from England who were generally well-to-do and were a welcome addition to the population.

The hard times had brought much poverty, many men not being able to secure work. Various means, such as soup kitchens, fuel societies, and charity societies were organized to help the needy, and gave temporary relief. Examination into the causes of the poverty revealed how much intemperance added to the distress. It was shown that the number of licensed houses for the sale of liquor was very large, and a petition was sent by the Philadelphia City Council to the Legislature asking for a reduction of the number.[1] In fact, there was a wave of reform going through the State. Lotteries, which were common, began to be looked upon with serious doubts as to their moral effects, and the feeling increased against imprisonment for debt, which was about this time abolished.

Prisons also claimed attention, and Pennsylvania gained widespread reputation by the establishment of a State's prison in which more humane treatment of the prisoners was introduced, and a system of solitary confinement adopted, the prisoner being required to labor at some mechanical trade.

[1] "There were more licensed houses for the sale of liquor in Philadelphia in 1817 than eighty years later."

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CHAPTER XVII

POLITICS AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS EDUCATION

Politics; Internal Improvements. — Governor Snyder, having served three terms, was ineligible for re-election, and William Findlay, who had been State treasurer for a number of years, was nominated by the Democrats, and after a campaign marked by bitter personalities, was chosen governor by a small majority (1817). Early in 1810 Governor Snyder had approved the Act establishing Harrisburg as the capital. The government offices were removed to that town in 1812, and on May 31, 1819, the corner stone of the capitol was laid. The building was first occupied in January, 1822.[1]

Findlay served only one term (1817–1820). He was a strong advocate of internal improvements, especially by opening the rivers for navigation and by constructing canals.

All kinds of schemes were put forth. It was even proposed by an elaborate plan of improving the navigation of the Schuylkill, the Swatara, the Juniata, and other streams, to connect Philadelphia with the Pacific coast, only seventy-five miles of canal, it was claimed, being necessary to complete the route. Other and more sensible schemes were to join the Schuylkill and Susquehanna with the Great Lakes, and the Susquehanna with the Schuylkill. The latter was done, so that boats could be taken to Philadelphia by way of the latter river. But the Erie Canal with its easy grades did away with nearly all competition from Pennsylvania in the western trade by means of canals, and was a large factor

[1] The Legislature had previously made use of the County Court House.

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in aiding New York City to continue to outstrip Philadelphia in population and commerce.

Later, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal joined Delaware and Chesapeake Bay; and the Delaware and Raritan Canal, uniting the Delaware River and Raritan Bay, just below New York City, joined the two greatest cities of the Union, to the

THE OLD STATE CAPITOL, 1819–1897

advantage of each. So great was the interest in internal improvements that in 1817 Pennsylvania appropriated $500,000 for roads, bridges, and canals. Nowhere in the country were there more miles of turnpikes, or longer or finer bridges.

One extensive scheme, however — that of uniting Pittsburgh and Philadelphia — was in time (1831–1832) accomplished. A canal was built from Pittsburgh to Johnstown, one hundred and four miles, where the boats were carried over the mountains by what was called a Portage Railroad,

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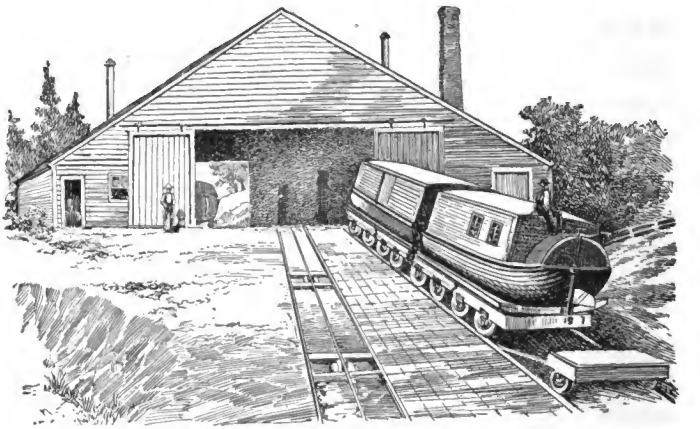
on which cars, or canal boats in sections loaded upon cars, were drawn up and let down inclined planes by means of stationary engines and endless wire ropes. There were five of these inclined planes on each side of the Alleghany Mountains;



CARRYING CANAL BOATS OVER THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS

the eastern terminus of the Portage Road was at Hollidaysburg and the western at Johnstown.[1]

Introduction of Anthracite Coal. — One of the largest and most valuable industries of Pennsylvania — that of mining anthracite coal — dates from this period. Hard coal had been used in small quantities as early as 1798, and bituminous, or soft coal, had been in use at Pittsburgh, but as wood was cheap little effort was made to use hard coal. The story is told that some boatloads of hard coal were sent from Mauch Chunk to Philadelphia, but there was no sale and the coal was used to pave sidewalks.

[1] The establishment of the Pennsylvania Railroad did away with the Portage system.

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In 1812 two men, Josiah White and Erskine Hazard, were partners in making iron wire. They bought a cart-load of hard coal and tried to use it in their furnace, but unsuccessfully. Another load was tried, but the heat needed could not be obtained. After trying all night the workmen shut the door of the furnace and went off in disgust. But one of them had forgotten his coat, and returning in half an hour to get it, found the coal in the furnace red hot. The iron was heated and rolled and the use of anthracite in manufacturing was demonstrated. The whole difficulty had been in the matter of draft.

Josiah White, a shrewd business man, saw some of the possibilities which lay in the mining of coal, and also the importance of facilities for getting it to market. He set about the matter wisely. Two companies, the Lehigh Coal Company and the Lehigh Navigation Company, were formed[1] (1818); a lease of coal lands for twenty years was secured, and a good road made from the mines to Mauch Chunk. The next thing was to improve the navigation of the Lehigh River; this was done under the personal supervision of Josiah White. The task involved an immense amount of labor, and many ingenious contrivances for securing ample water were devised. Special boats were constructed out of planks cut in the neighborhood of the mines. These boats made but one trip and were then taken apart at Philadelphia, sold for lumber, and the spikes and iron work returned to Mauch Chunk by land to be used over again.

Hard coal was slow in coming into favor, for the stoves and furnaces in use were not adapted to burning it, and grates had to be altered. It was also feared that the supply might give out, so little was known concerning the vast deposits. In

[1] These companies were afterwards combined under the now widely known name of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.

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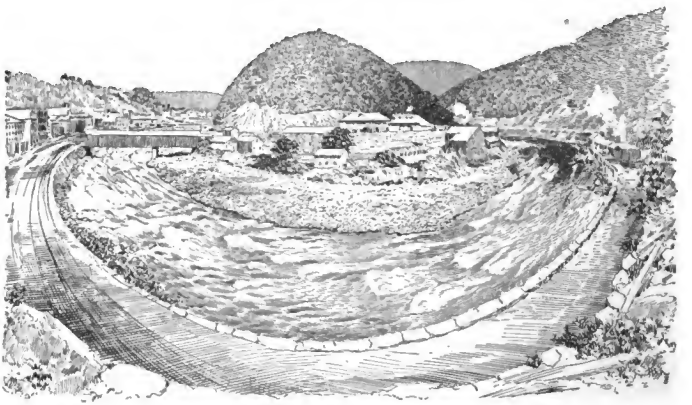
1820 three hundred and eighty-five tons completely stocked the market. Effort was made to bring the coal into use by having in public places stoves burning it, by instructing firemen how to use it, and in other ways. The demand in-



LEHIGH RIVER AT MAUCH CHUNK

creased rapidly, and in 1826 over 31,000 tons were carried on the Lehigh system, and 16,000 by way of the Schuylkill, the latter trade having been opened to Philadelphia in 1825 by means of dams across the river, making what is known as slack water navigation. The ability to use coal in smelting iron, which was discovered later, vastly increased the demand.[1]

In 1818 Congress had passed a special Act for the protection of iron manufacturers, which stimulated both the mining and the manufacturing of iron, to the great advantage of Pennsylvania, as foreign competition was effectually cut off.

Pittsburgh. — Perhaps the place that profited most by the development of the coal and iron industries was Pitts-

[1] The first successful use of hard coal in this connection is said to have been in 1837 at Mauch Chunk by Joseph Baughman, Julius Guiteau, and Henry High of Reading.

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burgh. The growth of the town at first was rather slow. It was not until 1804 that the first iron foundry was established by Joseph McClurg. But it was not to iron or coal that the town owed its first start in rapid development, but to steamboat navigation. As early as 1810 a steamboat was begun,

OLD PITTSBURGH MARKET AND FIRST ALLEGHENY COUNTY COURT HOUSE

and in March, 1811, it was launched — the first steamboat built or run on western waters. It was one hundred and thirty-eight feet long and of about three hundred tons burden. It was called the *New Orleans*. It left for that city on December 24, 1811, and arrived safely. Soon the business of steamboat building became a large industry and the steamboat trade became extensive.

In 1816 Pittsburgh was a flourishing town of 10,000 inhabitants; there were over forty trades carried on, and everything was prosperous. In that year it was chartered as a city and

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has since maintained its rank in the State as second only to Philadelphia.

Other Cities. — The roads, the canals, the improved navigation of the rivers, all contributed vastly to the prosperity of the State. Many vessels were built in the shipyards on the Delaware, and maritime commerce was profitable. It is stated that about two thousand vessels sailed from Philadelphia each year.

To see what the natural advantages of Pennsylvania have done for the State it is only needful to call to mind the names of such cities as Reading, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Easton, Mauch Chunk, Williamsport, and others.

Nominating Conventions. — To Pennsylvania may be credited the beginning of a political method which has had great vogue, but the real value of which is now being questioned by many — the nominating convention. The President of the United States and the governors of the States had usually been nominated by caucuses of the Congress or Legislature, as the case might be. The Democrats of Delaware County in 1807, in view of the fact that they had no voice in the nomination of the governor, proposed that delegates should be chosen to nominate candidates for office. The suggestion was partly adopted, and in 1817 Governor Findlay was nominated in this way, and in 1820 the method was adopted by both parties. "The Pennsylvania Plan," as it was called, spread to other States, was adopted by the national parties, and has been employed ever since.

An important convention was held in the interests of the doctrine of protection at Harrisburg in 1827. There were about one hundred delegates present from different States. A schedule of suggested duties was issued, calling for increased duties upon almost everything. Congress, at the

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next session, passed a bill agreeing with many of the recommendations of the convention.

Pennsylvania Politics, 1825–1830. — Pennsylvania gave her vote to Jackson for the Presidency both in 1824 and 1828, though in 1824 she chose Joseph Hiester, a fusion candidate, as governor. Another man of German descent, he made a good official, but declined to run a second time. He was succeeded by John Andrew Schulze, still another German. He was a cultivated man of high character. At the election of 1826 he was chosen for a second term with practically no opposition, less than twenty-five hundred votes being cast against him. This election marked the extinction of the old Federalist party in Pennsylvania.

During Governor Schulze's terms of office extensive works of internal improvement were carried on. The State had good credit, and this very fact led to planning extensive improvements which were to be paid for with borrowed money. By 1829 six and a half million dollars had been expended on the public works and half as much more was needed to complete them.

The Federalist party having come to an end, there was room for a new one. This was found in the short-lived Anti-Masonic Party.[1] This party first made its appearance in Pennsylvania in the election for governor in 1829. The Democrats nominated George Wolf of Northampton County, a capable and excellent man. Though he was chosen by a good majority, so many votes were cast for his opponent

[1] A certain William Morgan of New York, a Mason, declared that he would publish a book revealing the secrets of the order. In a short time Morgan disappeared and was never heard of again. The Masons were charged with murdering him and a violent feeling arose against them. This made its way into politics, and exercised great influence, especially in New York and Pennsylvania.

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that it was evident that the new Anti-Masonic party would have to be reckoned with for a time.

Public Schools; Educational Methods. — Governor Wolf deserves to be remembered for his strong advocacy of a free public school system. It will be remembered that the Constitution of 1790 encouraged education by stating that "the Legislature shall as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State *in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.*" "The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning." This latter clause had been acted upon liberally, for prior to 1820 about $250,000 had been given to various higher institutions of learning[1] as well as to academies. The method was not considered satisfactory, especially as regarded the academies.

Laws passed at various times provided for the education of the children of those who were unable to meet the charges, by directing the county treasurer to pay the school bills, but this was not very successful. Later, in 1812, a special act for the city and county of Philadelphia provided for the establishment of public schools, at which "the poor may be taught *gratis*." All these measures made a distinction between the poor and the rich, which was most undesirable and even hurtful.[2] This movement was much furthered, if not suggested, by the introduction of what is known as the Lancastrian system[3] of education. The principle of this is that one good teacher is enough for any school of reasonable

[1] These included the University of Pennsylvania, Franklin College, Jefferson, Washington, Allegheny, Western University, Lafayette, Madison, Pennsylvania, and Marshall.

[2] Later this measure was extended to other cities and counties.

[3] So named from the inventor, Joseph Lancaster, an English Quaker.

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size. The master taught the pupils farthest advanced, these pupils, or selected ones, taught those below them, and so on. The schoolroom was divided by curtains and from a platform the master supervised the whole work. But a skilled master was essential for even moderate success. These schools were far better than none, but even in them only the poor were taught *gratis*.

It is certainly a strange thing that in such a state as Pennsylvania there was as late as 1831 no adequate school system. There were good schools in Philadelphia and its vicinity, and in some of the northern counties, but the State as a whole was very deficient, so much so that it was estimated that the number of persons unable to read and write was 370,000.[1] One reason of the small number of free schools was the opinion held by many that the State had no legal right to appropriate money except *for the poor*. At last the Supreme Court of the State decided that the Constitutional provision *did not forbid* the use of public funds for others than the poor. This decision settled the Constitutional question.

Education Act of 1834. — Governor Wolf, who had himself been a teacher, took up the matter of education vigorously, but with comparatively little success until his second term of office, when the first genuine Education Act of the State was passed in 1834, called an "Act to establish a general system of education by common schools." This act, which was passed by an almost unanimous vote, was drafted by Samuel Breck of Philadelphia, a New Englander who had come to Pennsylvania, whose services in the matter were wholly philanthropic. The State was divided into districts, and the

[1] It was estimated that the children attending school at the public expense in 1833 were only about one fifty-sixth of the entire population, whereas the school enrollment at the present time is about one-fifth of the population.

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Act provided for the election of school directors. Districts were not required to establish schools, but if they did not they received no money for schools either from the State or from the county taxes. Manual labor was allowed to be taught, and the whole law was liberal.

Strange to say, the controversy regarding schools was even greater after the passage of the law than before it. The vote as to the acceptance or rejection of the provisions of the Act was held in the autumn of 1834, and about one-half of the districts either voted *No* or held no election. The Lutherans, the German Reformed, the Mennonites, and the Quakers generally opposed the measure on the ground that having schools of their own they did not wish to see them discontinued. These were joined by the ignorant and the conservatives. The opposition was strongest in the German counties. Another reason for the opposition was that in the public schools there would be no religious instruction. This feeling was especially strong among the Germans and the Quakers.

So strong was the opposition that the matter was carried to the next Legislature. In the Senate the anti-school men had a two-thirds majority and passed a repeal by a vote of two to one. In the House there was also a strong feeling for repeal, and had it not been for two able and strong men, it is quite possible that the law would have been repealed. One of these was Governor Wolf, who said to the Legislature, "If you dare to repeal, I will veto, and make the common school question the issue of the next election." The other advocate of the law was Thaddeus Stevens, a young man from Vermont, who was a representative from Adams County. With vigorous language and great eloquence, he threw all his strength in support of the bill, vowing that he would even

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give up his party feelings and all issues in support of the measure. His efforts and those of his allies were successful; the repeal was defeated. Changes were made in the Act itself, which gave it additional strength and clearness. Nothing else that Thaddeus Stevens did in his long political career was as useful and commendable as this action of his early days. Governor Wolf was defeated at the next election (1835) chiefly for his support of the school system.

On account of a division in the Democratic party, Joseph Ritner, the nominee of the Anti-Masonic party was chosen. He was supported by the Whigs.[1] Ritner was a warm advocate of the school system, advised increased aid to the schools, and had the satisfaction of seeing the appropriation raised from $75,000 to $400,000. Since his time no one has thought of opposing a public school system.

There was at this time also an increase of interest in higher education as is shown by the establishment of several colleges, among them Lafayette (1832), Pennsylvania (at Gettysburg) (1832), Haverford (1833).

Death of Stephen Girard; His Will. — Stephen Girard, the richest[2] man of his day in America, died December 26, 1831, without direct descendants. He left, with the exception of very moderate bequests to relatives, the whole of his large estate for public purposes. It was a peculiar will and was contested by his relatives, but without success.[3] A large bequest of land in Louisiana was made to the city of New Orleans, and all the rest was left to the city of Philadelphia

[1] The old Federalists and the National Republicans led by Henry Clay assumed this name at about this time.

[2] He was worth about $8,000,000.

[3] Certain property acquired by Girard after the signing of his will, was given by the courts to the contestants; and the city of New Orleans lost its bequest.

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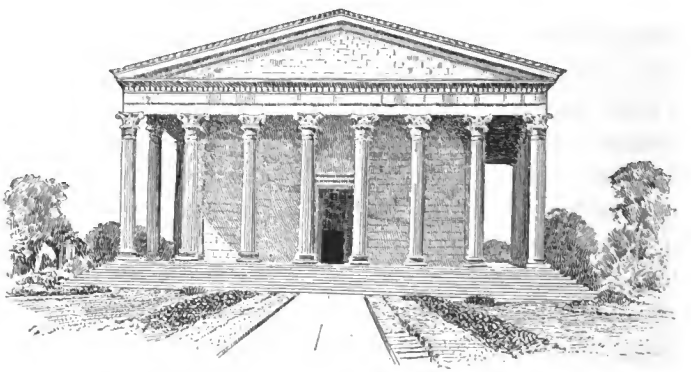
for various public improvements, and for the establishment of a school or college for the education of orphan boys.

Girard College. — Owing to the lawsuits, the financial crisis of 1837, and other causes, the opening of the institution was long delayed. The site was one selected by Girard himself in what is now the northern part of the city.[1] The main building, one of the finest specimens of Greek classic archi-



MAIN BUILDING OF GIRARD COLLEGE

tecture in the United States, was designed by Thomas U. Walter of Philadelphia. The white marble of which the building is constructed came chiefly from Chester and Montgomery counties, Pennsylvania. The corner stone was laid in 1833, but the buildings were not finished until 1847. The institution was opened January 1, 1848, with one hundred pupils. In 1912 there were 1520.

Girard's provisions for the building and other matters were minute, and almost impossible to carry out in detail. The provision which caused the most comment was that which

[1] Girard had originally fixed the site on the block bounded by Market, Chestnut, Eleventh and Twelfth streets.

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required that "no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in said college, nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated for the purposes of said college." Girard stated that by this restriction he simply meant to keep the boys free from the effects of "clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy." He desired, however, that "the purest principles of morality" should "be instilled into the minds of the scholars." Religious instruction has always been given in the institution, but by laymen, and not by ecclesiastics.

Owing to good management, the rise in value of real estate, and of the coal lands, the original estate has increased in value about four fold, making Girard College one of the most richly endowed schools in the world. Orphans and half-orphan[1] boys between six and ten years of age are admitted, but must leave when eighteen. The preference is to be given first to boys born in the old city of Philadelphia, then other parts of Pennsylvania, the city of New York, and New Orleans. All expenses are paid by the college.

President Jackson and the Bank. — A subject which was of great interest to Pennsylvania about this time was connected with national affairs. Pennsylvania prided herself on having two great national institutions within her boundaries — the United States Mint and the Bank of the United States. The Bank was an institution which had been of great service to the country, and had its directors kept out of politics there is little doubt that it would have had a much longer lease of life. There was, however, a popular feeling against banks. President Andrew Jackson was opposed to

[1] By decision of the Supreme Court an orphan "was held to be a boy who had lost his father."

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the Bank, but probably because it was controlled by his political enemies. These believed that they could injure Jackson through the Bank. So, though it was about four years before the charter would expire, a bill for its renewal was brought into Congress in 1832. Henry Clay was the leader in the struggle for renewal, in which he was ably seconded by Nicholas Biddle, the president of the Bank. In the struggle for a charter all kinds of political measures were adopted. The friends of the Bank were successful in getting a bill to recharter through Congress. But Jackson promptly vetoed it, and the cause was lost.

But the trouble did not end here, for Jackson was a man who liked to reward his friends and punish his enemies, and his enemies he considered the enemies of the country. He determined to injure the Bank and its friends as much as possible, and so ordered that no more government deposits should be made in it. As the government was constantly withdrawing money the Bank soon had no government funds.[1] The Bank continued business in a moderate way till the expiration of the charter (1836), when it received a charter from the State, but it never recovered its former position of importance. It was able to weather the severe financial crisis of 1837, but was obliged to close its doors early in 1841.[2]

[1] So ill-advised did such a plan seem that Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, a Pennsylvanian, refused to obey and was dismissed. His successor also declined and was also removed. Roger B. Taney, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, was then appointed and carried out the wishes of his chief.

[2] Nicholas Biddle had resigned in 1839, but he and his associates were prosecuted. There was, however, no proof of any dishonorable action brought forward. The crisis of 1837 and unwise management, to which was added bitter political opposition, caused the failure.

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CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS, 1835–1845

Constitution of 1838. — The Constitution adopted in 1790 was not satisfactory to many, and almost at once efforts were made for its revision. If it had not been feared that a change might be for the worse a revision would doubtless soon have been made. By 1825 the feeling had grown so strong that the question was submitted to a popular vote, which was against revision. Ten years later the question was submitted again and an affirmative vote was the result. The Whigs were against a revision, while the Democrats supported one. As in former elections the northern and western counties were in favor of change, and the eastern counties opposed it. At the election for delegates to a convention the parties were so equally represented that there were chosen sixty-six Whigs and Anti-Masons, sixty-six Democrats, and one doubtful delegate. As this man usually voted with the Whigs, the result was a more conservative document than would otherwise have been the case. The convention met at Harrisburg, May 2, 1837, and continued its sessions at Harrisburg and at Philadelphia until February 22, 1838, when the work was completed.

The delegates were an able body of men and the debates were exceedingly creditable. On the whole the changes were not radical. A few of the most important were: Senators were to be elected for three years instead of four — one-third to be chosen annually; terms of governors and legislative sessions were to begin on the first Tuesday in January instead of in December; the qualifications for electors were made

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less strict — one year's residence in the State and ten days in the election district, instead of two years' residence. The old document allowed any freeman to vote, the new one inserted the word "white." In consequence of the insertion of this word Thaddeus Stevens refused to sign the document, although he was a delegate.[1]

An article providing for amendment was also inserted. But probably the most important change was that which limited the appointing power of the governor. He was given the power to appoint the secretary of the commonwealth, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, all the judges; but all county officers were made elective. The terms of the judges, which had been "during good behavior," were changed to fifteen years for Supreme Court judges, ten years for those of lower rank, and five years for associate judges. Judges also were made removable by the governor on application of the Legislature.

The popular vote took place in October, 1838, and the new constitution was adopted by the small majority of twelve hundred in a large poll.

Pennsylvania Finances. — Meantime the finances of Pennsylvania were in a bad condition. The zeal for public improvements had carried the Legislature in its appropriations far beyond the limits of safety. Near the end of Governor Ritner's term of office (1838) the State debt was about $30,000,000,[2] and the annual expenses of the State were several hundred thousand dollars beyond its income. On

[1] Negroes had voted in some places.

[2] Of this amount about $22,000,000 had been spent since 1826 on internal improvements. The extent of these may be judged by the fact that in 1835 there were in the State about six hundred miles of canals and slack-water navigation, and one hundred and eighteen miles of railroads. The tolls of the State for the year ending October 31, 1835, were $684,000.

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June 19, 1838, a flood in the Juniata carried away forty miles of canal and $400,000 were borrowed from the Bank of the United States to pay for repairs.[1] To complete the system of canals several millions more were needed, and in addition to this, earlier loans would soon fall due. The financial outlook for the State was certainly gloomy.

OBVERSE REVERSE

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Election of 1838; "Buckshot War." — There was an election for governor in 1838. The united Whigs renominated Ritner, while the reunited Democrats selected David Rittenhouse Porter. This campaign has never been surpassed for hard feeling and for bitter personal attacks and false charges. A prominent leader and one unequaled for the violence of his attacks was Thaddeus Stevens. The election gave the Legislature a Whig majority in the Senate, while the House was almost equally divided — so nearly so that the control depended upon which of the two contesting delegations from Philadelphia should be seated. So there were two speakers, and the two parts, each claiming to be the true House, held sessions sometimes together and sometimes separately. A crowd or mob gathered at Harrisburg, invaded the state

[1] This was done without legislative authority.

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house, and by its threatening and riotous conduct greatly increased the confusion. Once the Whig speaker was carried bodily from his place into the aisle, and Thaddeus Stevens was so threatened that he jumped out of a back window twelve feet from the ground. Governor Ritner called out the militia "to quell the insurrection," and meantime with a band of workmen took possession of the State Arsenal. General Robert Patterson with a force of militia soon reached Harrisburg, but refused to do anything but protect public property. Buckshot was ordered for these men, and those who were to supply it were waylaid and the shot taken from them. Hence the name "Buckshot War." Fortunately the struggle was ended without any shooting. Three of the Whigs in the House went over to the Democrats, by whom the House was then organized. The result was accepted by the Senate, and this disgraceful quarrel was ended.

Financial Difficulties.—David R. Porter was chosen governor by a comparatively small majority. His term of office came in troublous times, for there were many difficulties to face in political, financial, and social matters; indeed, it is doubtful whether there has been a period in the history of the State when there was such a combination of difficulties.

The treasury was not only bare of funds, but there was a continual demand for money to carry on the work of public improvements which could not well be stopped without heavy loss. Besides this, so far as appeared, there would be no funds to meet the interest soon due on the State bonds. The banks refused to advance money, and indeed, owing to the state of the money market and the recent financial crisis, they were unable to do so. Governor Porter succeeded in raising several millions and for a time tided over the danger. Notwithstanding all his efforts, the Legislature

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adjourned without making sufficient provision for the claims upon the State. He called it together again and new loans and taxes were authorized, but still the indebtedness of the State increased, and certificates instead of cash were given in payment of interest due. These, of course, increased the debt still further and depressed the value of the bonds until they fell to one-half their face value. As a considerable portion of the debt was held in England, there was much hard feeling there which was expressed in sharp words by Sydney Smith, the great essayist. "The fraud," he wrote, "is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania by the richest State in the Union. . . . It is an act of bad faith which has no parallel and no excuse." In his bitter sarcasm he said that he intended to sell his Pennsylvania stock at forty per cent discount and buy Abyssinian bonds, or Turkish Fours, or Tunis three-and-a-half per cents.[1]

It should be stated that in a few years Pennsylvania paid all her indebtedness, principal and interest, with interest on the deferred interest. But the previous non-payment remains as a fact to which patriotic Pennsylvanians look back with a feeling of humiliation. It was not until 1845, when the State debt had reached $40,000,000, that a solid foundation for the State finances was reached, and from that time the credit of Pennsylvania has been of the highest.

Mismanagement of Public Works.— The State also suffered greatly from the mismanagement of the public works (canals and railroads). Very often they were used for the private benefit of the officials, whose political friends were given special rates and privileges, while political opponents were charged high rates and were obstructed in their business.

[1] The poet Wordsworth, who was also an investor, gave vent to his feelings in a sonnet.

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The dissatisfaction was so great that in 1844 a bill was passed authorizing the question of selling the State works to be submitted to a popular vote. This was done and the vote was an affirmative one. The terms of sale were left to the Legislature, and it was some years before the sales were completed.

Early Railroads. — The experiments of Oliver Evans in road travel by means of steam have already been referred to. The first railroad or track for vehicles to run upon in Pennsylvania is to be credited to Thomas Leiper, who lived near Chester. He built in 1809 a track made of oak rails laid on blocks eight feet apart. On this a single horse could draw five tons of stone. The line was about a mile long and was used to carry stone from his quarries to Ridley creek, from which it was shipped by water to Philadelphia and elsewhere. This road was in use for many years.

The next railroad in Pennsylvania was one from the coal mines near Mauch Chunk to the Lehigh River, about nine miles long (1827). Like Leiper's road, the cars were drawn by horses. The first steam road was opened in 1829, when the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company ran a locomotive from its coal mines to Honesdale.[1]

Railroad Car Drawn by Horses
From an old print

The first railroad for both freight and passengers was the Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown road. The first train, which was

[1] This is said to be the first use of steam on an American railroad.

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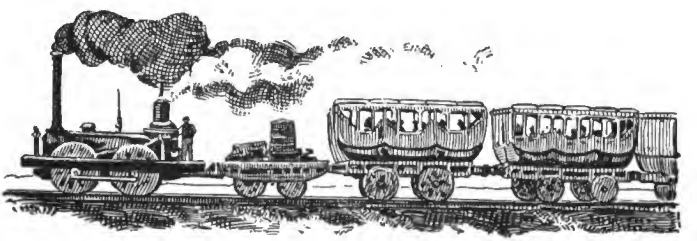
drawn by horses, left Philadelphia June 6, 1832. On November 23, a locomotive, known afterwards as "Old Ironsides," was employed, and was able to run at the rate of twenty-eight miles an hour. At first the locomotive was not taken out on rainy days, as it was thought that the wheels would slip on the wet rails.



RAILROAD TRAIN IN 1833
From an old print

The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad was chartered in 1833, and portions of the road were ready for use in 1838; the Philadelphia and Trenton road was opened in 1834, the Philadelphia terminal being at Kensington.

Several attempts were made to begin a railroad from Philadelphia to Lancaster with the purpose of afterwards extending it to Pittsburgh, but people were afraid to subscribe for stock. For, it was thought, canals would furnish a much surer means of conveyance. Those who lived along the Lancaster turnpike could not believe that the wagons could be superseded. "No railroad," said an old innkeeper, "can carry the freight that the old Conestogas (wagons) do."

At last the Legislature took up the matter, making it part of the plan of internal improvements in connection with the system of canals. The Philadelphia terminus was at Belmont, on the west side of the Schuylkill, and the east side

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was reached by a bridge, which soon came to be known as the Columbia Bridge. At Belmont there was an inclined plane 2800 feet long, up which the cars were hauled by an endless cable. At the other end of the road at Columbia there was another inclined plane 1800 feet long. Between these planes the cars were drawn by horses. The distance between Philadelphia and Lancaster was covered in eight and a half hours, including stoppages. It was usual for travelers to spend the night at Lancaster and go on to Columbia the next morning. There was a single track at first, with turnouts, and the road was open to all who would pay two cents per mile for each passenger and $4.92 for each car.

The Philadelphia and West Chester road, intended to join the Columbia road, was begun in 1832, and on Christmas day, 1833, a car made the trip from West Chester to the station on Broad street (near Race), Philadelphia. This car crossed the Schuylkill River by the Columbia Bridge.

Pennsylvania Railroad.—The Pennsylvania Railroad Company was chartered in 1846 to build a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. The road was begun in 1847, but three years passed before it was finished to connect with the east end of the Portage Railroad already mentioned. Near Johnstown its own tracks were again used. In 1852 it was opened to Pittsburgh, and in two years more it had its own tracks the whole distance between the cities. It had already gained control of the road from Harrisburg to Lancaster, and in 1857 it purchased from the State the line from Lancaster to Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Railroad thereby obtained control of an unbroken stretch of road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. From this time the road has steadily increased until its branches and connections number 11,500 miles.

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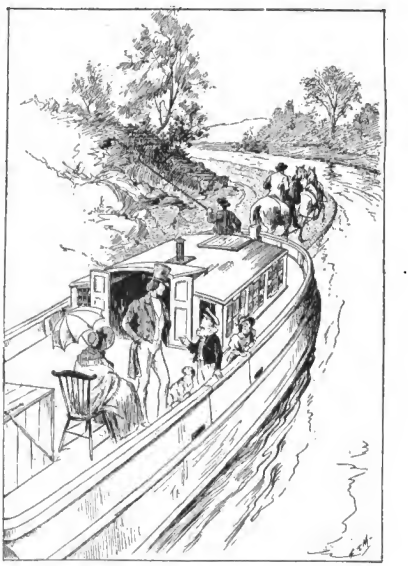
The Pennsylvania System extends into many States and it has become the largest railroad corporation in the world.

The building of railroads was not begun without considerable opposition. Farmers believed that they would hurt the sale of horses, oats, and other farm productions, and would injure the wagon trade. It was argued by others that for a long journey, at any rate, a man traveling with a family would prefer a canal boat, because on a boat it would be possible for them to walk about, talk, write letters, and eat meals, whereas none of these things could be done on a railway. "In a canal boat, too, the passengers were as safe as at home, whereas in a railway car nobody could tell what might happen." Even as late as 1831, the State board of canal commissioners said, "The board believe that, notwithstanding all the improvements that have been made in railroads and locomotives, it will be found that canals are from two to two and a half times better than railroads for the purposes required of them by Pennsylvania."



TRAVELING ON A CANAL BOAT

It is not practicable to describe other railroad systems in the State, but Pennsylvania may be proud of her railroads. They have contributed vastly to the development of her natural resources and of her productive industries of all

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kinds. While sometimes the administration of the roads has been open to question, the benefit to the State has been incalculable.

Pennsylvania and Slavery. — The record of Pennsylvania in regard to slavery has been good. She, first among the States, passed a bill (1780) providing for the gradual abolition of slavery within her limits. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society, first abolition society in America, was begun in Philadelphia (1775). Franklin was president of it in 1787. The Friends, when they withdrew from politics, devoted much time to measures of social and moral reform, among them the gradual abolition of slavery. They petitioned the Continental Congress, and also the first Congress under the Constitution, against the slave trade. The Pennsylvania Representatives to Congress defended the petition, and protested against the kidnapping of free negroes; and it was a Pennsylvanian, — David Bard, — who introduced a resolution (1804) laying a tax of ten dollars upon every negro imported, the extreme amount allowed by the Constitution. When the great struggle over the extension of slavery into the territories, resulting in the Missouri Compromise, took place in Congress (1819–1820), the Pennsylvania senators, Jonathan Roberts and Walter Lowrie, both opposed the extension of slavery, as did the Representatives also. And their action was approved by the Pennsylvania Legislature unanimously.

It was in Philadelphia that the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized (1833).[1] Its members were uncompromising in their attitude, declaring "that the slaves ought instantly to be set free and brought under the protection of

[1] Beriah Green of New York was the president, and Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier were the secretaries.

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the law." They were for freeing all slaves without compensation to the owners. As a result of the meeting anti-slavery societies were formed wherever practicable.

The South resented any interference with slavery, and from this time made every effort to suppress all attempts to spread anti-slavery principles In Pennsylvania, while the majority in the State were opposed to slavery, there were many who were opposed to the Abolitionists. There was the politician who wished to be on good terms with the South, the merchant who had Southern customers; there were those who feared any change; and above all, the "roughs" in the cities who hated the negroes, and who were always "ready for a row." A considerable change, therefore, came in the attitude of the State toward slavery, so much so that Governor Ritner in 1836 sent a message to the Legislature in which he mentioned in review the various matters in which State sentiment had changed, notably that of free discussion — in regard to slavery. "The traffic in slaves, now abhorred by all the civilized world, ought not in the slightest degree to be tolerated in the State of Pennsylvania." "Let us never," he said, "yield the right of free discussion of any evil that may arise in the land or in any part of it."

HOUSE IN GERMANTOWN IN WHICH THE FIRST AMERICAN PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY WAS SIGNED IN 1688

Burning of Pennsylvania Hall. — The feeling against the Abolitionists was particularly strong in Philadelphia and reached its height in the burning of Pennsylvania Hall. As

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the anti-slavery men had found considerable difficulty in securing places for meeting, a lot was bought on North Sixth Street near Race, and a large hall erected. It was finished and dedicated in 1838, David Paul Brown, one of Pennsylvania's most distinguished lawyers, making the address. The next day placards were posted around the city calling the citizens to break up the meetings which had been planned to follow. On the evening of the third day a mob broke the windows by throwing stones and hooted the speakers. The next night a larger mob put out the street lamps in the neighborhood, broke into the hall, set it on fire, and then broke the gas pipes so that the gas might help the flames; only the outer walls of the building remained. The poet Whittier, who was an eye-witness of the outrage, was only saved from violent treatment by being unrecognized. The action of the city authorities was vacillating and weak in the extreme. The next night an attempt was made to destroy a negro orphan asylum and it was set on fire, but was saved by citizens who held back the mob, allowing the firemen to extinguish the flames. There was also rioting before the office of the *Public Ledger*, which had denounced the lawless proceedings that had taken place. No one was punished for the burning of Pennsylvania Hall. A claim made upon the city for loss was settled after three years by the payment of $33,000.

Race Riots. — These were not the only race riots. In August, 1834, a riotous mob attacked the dwellings of negroes in Moyamensing. Windows and doors were broken, furniture was destroyed, and negro men and women were beaten without mercy. Other attacks were made on successive days until several thousand dollars worth of property were destroyed. Again in 1835 there was a still worse riot. The occasion of this was the brutal assault by a negro boy upon a white citizen.

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Unable to get at the boy, a mob attacked the houses of colored people until the whole colored population of the city was almost panic-stricken. In 1842 a colored temperance procession was attacked by a mob, and the scenes of previous years were repeated, and so serious did matters become that the troops were called out to preserve order. This ill-feeling toward the negro population continued to the time of the Civil War and even later.

Native American Riots. — Bad as these negro riots were, they were not equal to the political and "Native American" riots. The elections in Philadelphia were almost always times of excitement and rioting. In 1834 there was fighting between the followers of the Whigs and the followers of the Democrats, much property was destroyed, and many buildings burned.[1]

As early as 1828 hard feeling between the native Americans and the Irish immigrants had resulted in a fight. But the climax was reached in 1843–1844. Early in the year it had been needful to call out the militia. The ill-feeling was increased by intolerance and prejudice. Many Irish Catholic weavers had come to the city and lived principally in what was known as Kensington, then a suburb of Philadelphia. A strong feeling in favor of restricting offices to native-born American citizens had sprung up all over the country, with a corresponding opposition to foreigners. This feeling was increased by religious prejudice. As a result of the feeling against foreigners an organization was formed to insist on the Bible being read in the public schools, and this organization held meetings in the midst of the Catholic population. Their meetings were roughly broken up, and in one of the

[1] The heavy losses during this period led to the enactment of the law which made the county liable for damages inflicted by a mob.

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skirmishes a boy was mortally wounded. He was looked upon as a martyr, further rioting took place, the houses of Catholics were attacked, shots were fired, houses were set on fire. Catholic churches were attacked, and one, St. Augustine's on Fourth Street near Vine, was burned, as well as the Catholic school-house near by. The troops were called out and with some difficulty quiet was restored.

In July a still worse riot took place. This was started by a great "Native American" procession on the Fourth of July, and by the speeches which were made during the celebration of the day. The troubles began on the fifth and lasted for several days. The troops were called out and martial law proclaimed. Severe fighting took place in the streets, and Governor Porter himself came to the city to direct affairs. Additional troops were brought from the counties until there were about 5000 men under arms. It is said that "thirty houses, three churches, and a convent were burned during the troubles." As a result of these various riotous proceedings the police force was entirely reorganized and increased in number, and though riots did not cease, there have since been none so serious.

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CHAPTER XIX

NATIONAL POLITICS, LITERATURE, ANTI-SLAVERY, EDUCATION

Mexican War; "Wilmot Proviso." — Though Pennsylvania had been steadily Democratic in national politics, she gave her vote for William Henry Harrison, the Whig candidate, in the exciting campaign of 1840, though by a very small majority.[1] The uncertainty of what Congress would do in financial matters and in regard to the tariff threatened the hold of the Democratic party on the State, but the leaders were shrewd, and by means of promises were able to carry the state in 1844 for James K. Polk, the Democratic candidate for President. President Polk appointed James Buchanan of Pennsylvania secretary of state, and for a number of years he was the Democratic leader of Pennsylvania.

JAMES BUCHANAN

The election of Polk led to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, neither of which was agreeable to the majority of Pennsylvanians, but all were patriotic, and though the quota of troops for the war called for from Pennsylvania was six regiments, nine regiments were offered. Only two, however, were mustered into the army.

[1] The majority was only 349 over the vote for Van Buren.

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The acquisition of so much territory by the United States as a result of the Mexican War, brought up the subject of slavery in a way that could not be ignored. Texas had been admitted to the Union as a slave State, but the territory acquired from Mexico had been free. Should it be slave or free under the flag of the United States? As a rule Southern men claimed that it should be open to slavery, for they would not settle where they could not take their slaves, but the majority of the men of the North resisted any proposal to make that territory slave which was already free.

David Wilmot of Towanda, a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania, had voted for the annexation of Texas. He was, however, opposed to the extension of slavery, and had offered an amendment to a bill before Congress, providing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory" which may be acquired from Mexico. This amendment, known as the "Wilmot Proviso," passed the House but was lost in the Senate. It became the rallying cry of all those opposed to slavery. Wilmot's course was approved by the Pennsylvania Legislature.[1]

In the Presidential election of 1848 Pennsylvania gave her vote to Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate. Opposition to the extension of slave territory brought about this result, for Pennsylvania was still a Democratic State.

Literature in Pennsylvania; Periodicals. — In all material interests Pennsylvania was prospering greatly. In literary matters she had regained something of the supremacy she had enjoyed in the eighteenth century. Philadelphia had continued to be a publishing center. No persons contributed to this result more than the family of Matthew Carey. Established in 1785 and continued under several names, the Carey pub-

[1] The vote in the House was 96 to 0, and in the Senate 24 to 3.

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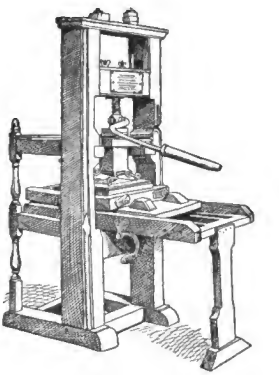
lishing house celebrated its centennial in 1885, and its successors are still numbered among Philadelphia's foremost publishers.[1] This firm, and that of Carey and Hart, an offshoot, issued some of the best books in America, and republished the works of the most prominent British authors. The *Pickwick Papers* were first published in America by the Careys, as well as many of the Waverley novels, the *Essays* of Macaulay, Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, and others. Cooper, Irving, Simms, Kennedy, besides other American authors, were upon their lists.



FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS

In periodical literature also the older days were repeated. The *Saturday Evening Post*, lineal successor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, established by Benjamin Franklin, was given a new lease of life. In 1830 Louis A. Godey established *Godey's Ladies' Book*, which had a wide circulation for nearly fifty years. Among its contributors in its earlier days were numbered Poe, Irving, Hawthorne, Paulding, Bayard Taylor, and Charles Godfrey Leland.

On a higher level was *Graham's Magazine*, established by George R. Graham in 1840, of which Poe was editor for a time. In this magazine appeared some of the best known of Longfellow's earlier poems. Lowell, Bryant, Halleck, Cooper, Hawthorne, Story, Whipple, and indeed almost all of the American authors of the day were contributors to its pages.

[1] The firm under various names has continued to the present time to have at least one lineal descendant of Matthew Carey in it. The present style is Lea and Febiger.

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It was essentially an American magazine, though a few English writers contributed, among them Elizabeth B. Barrett, afterwards Mrs. Browning.

Graham's Magazine flourished until the establishment of *Harper's Magazine* (1850), and *Putnam's* (1853). With their larger resources and probably better appreciation of the changes in the public taste, they drew away so many subscribers and purchasers that in a few years it came to an end, after an honorable and useful career. Graham has hardly had justice done him for the service he rendered American literature by his encouragement of native talent.

Pennsylvania Authors. — Notwithstanding this literary revival, Pennsylvania did not produce many authors of high rank. George H. Boker (1823–1890), a writer of easy verse and author of several dramas, was born in Philadelphia and exercised much literary influence, but his name is but little known at the present time.[1] Another writer of great versatility was Charles Godfrey Leland (1824–1903), whose *Hans Breitmann's Ballads*, composed in a German-English dialect, most of them written at a somewhat later period, had a wide circulation both in America and Europe. They possess genuine wit and humor and will preserve his name after his more serious work, on which he set a far higher value, is forgotten.

Thomas Buchanan Read (1822–1872), born in Chester County, was in turn actor, painter and poet. He did not attain very high distinction in any one of these lines, but the Civil War gave him subjects which touched the feelings of the people, and his *Sheridan's Ride* was immensely popular, and it remains one of the best known of Civil War lyrics.

[1] Perhaps the only poem of his that still retains favor is his *Soldier's Dirge*, beginning, "Close his eyes, his work is done."

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The poet and literary man of the highest rank that Pennsylvania has yet produced is Bayard Taylor (1825–1878). He, too, was born in Chester County, and, like Read, had a life full of incident. As a young man he wandered over Europe, paying his way by writing letters to newspapers in America, notably the *New York Tribune*. These letters, afterwards collected under the title of *Views Afoot*, had a wide circulation. Other travels were also described in later volumes. He drifted into literature, and afterwards wrote a number of novels: the best one of these is *The Story of Kennett*, the scenes of which, photographic in their accuracy, were laid in and near his childhood's home at Kennett Square, Chester County. His greatest work, however, was the translation of Goethe's *Faust* into English, in the meters of the original. He died in 1878 while Minister of the United States to Germany.

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. — Pennsylvania returned to the Democratic party in the election of William Bigler as governor in 1851, but this did not indicate any less feeling against slavery. Pennsylvania accepted the Compromise Bill of 1850, but many of her citizens, especially those living along the southern boundary of the State, resented the new Fugitive Slave Act and resolved to aid fugitive slaves as much as possible in their efforts to escape. The aid rendered, and the resistance to the law — though it was generally passive — were very effective, all the more so as there was no appeal to popular feeling and excitement. Everything was done so quietly and with such secrecy that it was almost impossible to prove any illegal acts.

Underground Railroad. — Until the new Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 a runaway slave was comparatively safe in a free State, but after the passage of that bill, Canada was the

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nearest sure refuge for the unfortunate runaway. The aim, therefore, of the sympathizers with the fugitive was to aid him to reach Canada. The way in which this was done came to be called the "Underground Railroad." This simply meant that the fugitive was concealed by day and sent on by night along well arranged routes on which he could rely for help and concealment until the Canadian border was crossed. The town of Columbia was one of the places where slaves would often disappear, and it is said that the phrase arose in connection with this place from some one saying "there must be an underground railroad out of this town." But perhaps the greatest number of fugitives, so far as Pennsylvania was concerned, came through Chester County.[1]

The penalties for aiding or harboring a runaway were heavy. Fines of several hundred dollars were inflicted for giving a runaway slave even food or shelter. But many persons braved all risks in resisting what they held to be unrighteous laws. The stories of hairbreadth escapes, and of conflicts with slave owners and with sheriffs, would fill a volume. The result of all this was to increase the opposition to slavery.

American Party. — A certain hostility to foreigners showed itself as early as 1835 in both New York and Philadelphia, and again in 1844. About 1852, when the old Democratic and Whig parties were unsettled, the large immigration brought up the question of nativism again. A secret order or organization was formed, the main purpose of which was to restrict the suffrage and public offices to native born Americans and those who had been many years in the country.

[1] Thomas Garrett, a Pennsylvanian who removed to Wilmington, Delaware, is said to have personally aided 2700 fugitives to escape. He lost his property in various ways on account of the assistance he gave to runaway slaves and he was often threatened with murder.

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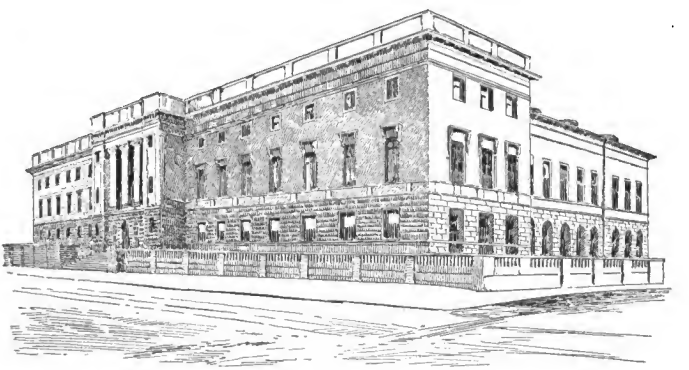
"America for Americans" was the watch-word. The name of the party which grew out of the order was the "American Party," or, as it was generally known, the "Know Nothing Party," a name given because the members when asked any question about the order, always replied, "I don't know."

The party grew rapidly, and by 1854 it promised to be the great rival of the Democrats. It tried to avoid the slavery



THE PRESENT UNITED STATES MINT

question and make nativism the popular cry. When so many highly esteemed and valuable citizens were of foreign birth, and with the growing tide of immigration, such a party was sure to fail in the end, but in 1854 it was strong enough in Pennsylvania to elect James Pollock[1] governor by a large majority. The party nominated Millard Fillmore for President in 1856, and after that disappeared. Independently of its other weakness the attempt to ignore slavery would alone have been fatal to its further existence.

[1] Pollock was Director of the United States Mint, 1861–1866, 1869–1879, and is said to have been instrumental in getting the motto, "In God we Trust," placed upon the United States coinage.

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Sale of Public Works. — In 1857 the State, after long negotiations, sold all its public works (canals and railroads) between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for $7,500,000, and in 1858 sold the canals on the Susquehanna and its branches above the mouth of the Juniata, and the Delaware Division, to the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company for $3,500,000. These sums were only about one-fourth the cost of construction, but the sale was beneficial to the State in several ways. The Pennsylvania Railroad paralleled the State works; the works themselves brought in small revenue; but above all the sale put an end to much public and private corruption.

This experiment in public ownership cannot be quoted as altogether a failure. There can be no doubt that by means of these roads and canals the development of the State was stimulated at a time when private enterprise would have held back from internal improvements, and the impetus thus given to all interests was lasting. On the other hand, the management of the works was faulty, and seriously hurtful to the political morals of the people, for those who directed the management, and, indeed, most of the employees, regarded their own personal interests rather than the public good. The funds received from the sale of the works were applied toward extinguishing the public debt.[1]

Financial Crisis of 1857. — The financial crisis of 1857 was felt as severely in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere. Banks suspended specie payments and all business was prostrated. Governor Pollock called an extra session of the Legislature to devise

[1] The feeling against a large state indebtedness had become so strong that in 1856 a constitutional amendment was passed requiring the Legislature to appropriate an annual amount of at least $250,000 to the sinking fund for the payment of the state debt.

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means for lessening the financial stress. Though perhaps more severe than the financial crisis of 1837, that of 1857 was not so prolonged and the country recovered sooner from the effects.[1]

Progress of Public Education. — The progress of education in the State was not so rapid as some of its supporters had hoped. There was considerable local opposition to the schools, the course of instruction was limited, and the teachers were ill-prepared for their work, and were poorly paid. About 1850 efforts at reform and improvement were made with success. In 1854 the office of county superintendent of schools was created, with most beneficial results. In 1857 a separate Department of Education was established, and the system of normal schools for the training of teachers begun. The first training school for teachers was held in Chester County in 1855. This improvement in the methods of education was chiefly due first to Thomas H. Burrowes, who as secretary of the commonwealth had charge of the educational interests of the State before the Department of Education was created; and secondly to James P. Wickersham, who, as principal of the first normal school in the State (Millersville), and later (1866) as State superintendent of common schools, exercised a most valuable influence.[2]

Consolidation of Philadelphia, 1854. — An important event of this period was the consolidation of the city of Philadelphia. The old city was bounded by the two rivers and South and Vine streets, but suburbs had grown up which were indistinguishable from the city. There were nine of these separate

[1] The cause of the financial crisis was chiefly due to over-speculation, brought about by the general prosperity of the country.

[2] He was the author of an excellent *History of Education in Pennsylvania* (1886).

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corporations.[1] The advantage of bringing all these districts under one administration was self-evident. Mobs, robbers, murderers, disturbers of the public peace, were all the time going from one jurisdiction to another to postpone if not to escape punishment. There had been some arrangement (1850) for a common police, but that covered only part of the difficulty. There was a constant conflict. The union was strongly objected to by the politicians, as consolidation, it was believed, would lessen local influence. Others feared increase of taxation. It was not until 1854 that consolidation became a fact by legislative action.

By the act of consolidation Philadelphia was made to include the entire county. As the debts of the districts were to be taken over by the new city[2] several of the districts made haste to spend money on local objects, and it is said that in anticipation of the union "within thirty days $4,500,000 was added to the debt to be assumed by the new city." The first election for mayor of the consolidated city took place in June, 1854, and resulted in the choice of Robert T. Conrad, who received the support of the Whigs and "Know Nothings."[3]

It is also of interest to note that the temperance feeling in the State was strong enough in 1854 to induce the Legislature to submit a Prohibition Law to the voters. It was defeated by only 5,000 majority in a vote of more than 300,000.

[1] These were Southwark, Northern Liberties, Kensington, Spring Garden, Penn, Moyamensing, Richmond, West Philadelphia, and Belmont.

[2] "All the franchises, rights, duties, property, assets, debts and liabilities, of the city, the nine districts, the six boroughs, and the thirteen townships, were transferred to the new corporation, the consolidated city of Philadelphia."

[3] At first the term of the mayor was made two years; in 1862 it was lengthened to three years, and by the Act of 1885 (Bullitt Bill) it was fixed at four years. This provision is still in force (1913).

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CHAPTER XX

PENNSYLVANIA AND THE CIVIL WAR

Republican Party; Election of Buchanan; Governor Curtin. — The efforts of the Southern men not only to secure new slave territory but also to insist on the right to take their slaves with them wherever they went, led the men of the free States to unite in opposition to these demands as they had not done before. The result was the formation of the Republican party. The first national convention of this party was held in Philadelphia in June, 1856, and John C. Frémont was nominated for President. The American party, supported by some of the Whigs, nominated Millard Fillmore, and the Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania.

In the election the new Republican party polled a surprisingly large vote, carrying all New England, New York, Ohio, and other States. The Democrats, however, were successful in electing James Buchanan as President and John C. Breckenridge as Vice-President.[1] In Pennsylvania, though Buchanan had a majority over all competitors, it was so small as to indicate that it would take but little to withdraw the State from the Democrats. Buchanan appointed Jeremiah S. Black, one of the ablest lawyers of Pennsylvania, as his attorney-general, and later, for a time, his secretary of state. Later Edwin M. Stanton, then of Pittsburgh, was attorney-general.

[1] Though Buchanan had a majority vote of 52 in the electoral college, he was a minority President so far as the popular vote was concerned, for he lacked nearly 400,000 votes of having a majority.

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In 1857, William F. Packer, the Democratic candidate, was chosen governor, but the anti-slavery feeling continued to grow, and in October, 1860, the State chose the Republican candidate for governor, Andrew G. Curtin, by a large majority. This indicated that the Republicans would carry the State at the National election in November.

Pennsylvania Votes for Lincoln. — In national politics the division of the great Democratic party into the Breckenridge and Douglas wings made the choice of the Republican candidate almost certain. At the election, Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin received a plurality of the popular vote and a majority of 57 in the electoral college.[1] Pennsylvania gave Lincoln and Hamlin a plurality of nearly 90,000, and a majority of nearly 60,000 over all competitors. This result was a wonderful revelation of how public opinion in the State had changed.

Conciliation toward the South; Weakness of Buchanan. — Notwithstanding this expression of public sentiment, there were still very many in the State who, influenced by various motives, deprecated active opposition to the slave power. Governor Packer, in his farewell message, though he declared against secession, advocated greater activity in returning fugitive slaves, and the lessening of restrictions in many ways. Resolutions of similar character were passed by the Legislature. But the climax was reached on December 13, 1860, when a huge mass meeting, said to number 50,000, was gathered in Independence Square. The call for the meeting was sent out at the request of the city councils, and the meeting was presided over by the mayor, Alexander

[1] Like Buchanan, Lincoln was a minority President so far as the popular vote was concerned, the combined vote of his opponents being nearly one million more than his own.

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Henry. The speeches made and the resolutions passed were in favor of conciliation toward the South, and the removal of any statute on the statute books "which in the slightest degree invades the constitutional rights of a sister State." The seventh resolution declared that "all denunciations of slavery, as existing in the United States . . . are inconsistent with the spirit of brotherhood and kindness."

This meeting and its conciliatory attitude could not have been held a few weeks later, so rapidly did public opinion change. Nothing contributed to this change more than the news that Major Anderson had been besieged in Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. Meetings were held approving his action, and also counter-meetings; but the feeling kept growing stronger that Anderson and his little band represented in a measure the Union.

During this trying period President Buchanan pursued a vacillating course, declaring that he was opposed to secession, and yet asserting that he had no power to prevent it; members of his cabinet openly proclaimed their sympathy with Southern views, and were charged with actively aiding the South. State after State seceded and the President did nothing; Fort Sumter was besieged and he sent no aid.

Lincoln in Philadelphia; Feeling in Pittsburgh. — On the 21st of February, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, the President-elect, came to Philadelphia and received a hearty welcome. The next day, Washington's Birthday, he visited Independence Hall and made a notable though brief address. He then went to the front of the building and hoisted an American flag having thirty-four stars, Kansas having been recently admitted to the Union.[1]

The western part of the State was less inclined to conciliа-

[1] The spot where he stood while hoisting the flag is marked with a stone.

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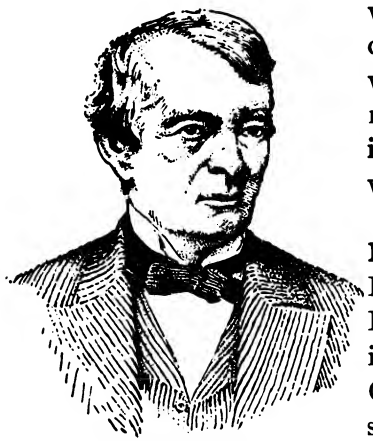
tion than the eastern. Late in December the citizens of Pittsburgh were greatly excited at learning that guns were being shipped from their city to the South, presumably for the aid of the South. Protests were sent at once to President Lincoln, who directed Holt, the acting secretary of war, to countermand the order of Floyd, his predecessor, which was done.[1] Had the order not reached Pittsburgh promptly it is almost certain that there would have been an outbreak.



ANDREW G. CURTIN

Activity of Governor Curtin; Pennsylvania Volunteers. — If Pennsylvania had a weak son in Buchanan, she had a strong one in her new governor, Andrew G. Curtin. The energy, the skill, the ability, which he displayed in these early and trying days of the conflict, and indeed all through his term of office, give him a high place among the "war governors."[2]

The attack on Fort Sumter, April 12, roused the whole country as perhaps no other event has done. It turned thousands of doubtful men into earnest supporters of the National government, and of the Union of the States. In

[1] Secretary Floyd was charged with making these shipments in the interest of the secessionists, but later investigations show that the shipments were determined upon in October and the guns were intended for the unfinished forts at Galveston, Texas, and Ship Island, Mississippi, in the ordinary course of construction.

[2] The governors of States during the Civil War were known as "war governors." Of these the most distinguished were Andrew of Massachusetts, Sprague of Rhode Island, Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Morton of Indiana.

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no State was the uprising of the people more marked than in Pennsylvania. Fort Sumter was evacuated on April 14, 1861. The next day President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months. Pennsylvania's quota was 14,000, but 25,000 men offered themselves. The first volunteers who reached Washington were 2160 Pennsylvanians who marched through a rough mob in Baltimore (April 18), though they were not attacked so severely as the Massachusetts troops were the next day.

Governor Curtin retained the extra volunteers, and kept them in service as the Pennsylvania Reserves. Camp Curtin was established near Harrisburg, and became one of the great training camps of the war. In all, Pennsylvania furnished 362,284 men to the armies of the Union, not including 25,000 or more militia that were called out for special service.[1]

The Pennsylvania troops were equal to any in the service, and the State had many officers who became distinguished — among them Generals John F. Reynolds, George G. Meade, Elwood O. C. Ord, George B. McClellan, and Winfield S. Hancock.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN

Confederates Invade Pennsylvania, 1862. — Pennsylvania was so near to Virginia, the northernmost of the seceded States, that an invasion of her soil was probable. When a Confederate army was in western Virginia a day's march would take

[1] As in other States, during the latter part of the war, the system of drafting men for service and of paying bounties was followed in Pennsylvania.

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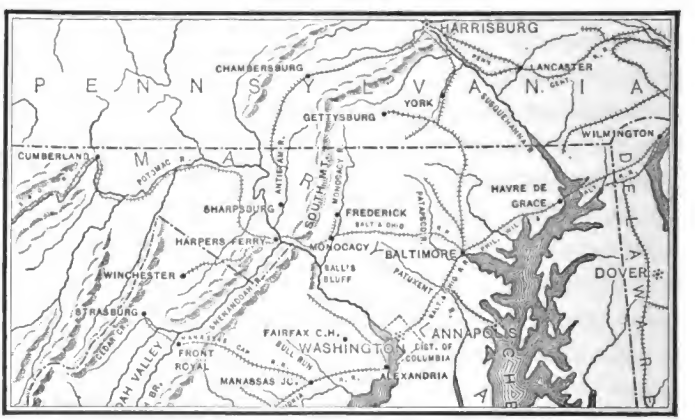
troops across the narrow strip of Maryland into the fertile lands of Pennsylvania. The Confederates thus invaded the State three times. The first invasion was General Stuart's raid in October, 1862, when the alert Confederate crossed the State line with a force of cavalry, and reached Chambersburg. But comparatively little damage was done, and fearful of meeting a force of the enemy larger than his own, he hastily returned to Virginia without suffering loss.



MAP OF CONFEDERATE INVASIONS

Second Confederate Invasion, 1863. — The second invasion was one which included the battle of Gettysburg, one of the great battles of history, and as terrible a one as any fought on American soil. The Confederates had tried before to carry the conflict into the Northern States, but were checked at Antietam, Maryland (September 17, 1862), by McClellan, who forced Lee to retreat to Virginia.[1] In 1863 Lee, after

[1] So great was the fear of the invasion that Governor Curtin called out 50,000 militia for the defence of the State. Had not Lee been checked Pennsylvania would, without doubt, have suffered severely. The consternation shown by many was not without good reasons.

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his victory at Chancellorsville (May 2–3, 1863), desirous of inflicting a heavy blow upon the North, as well as being urged by public opinion, marched toward the Shenandoah Valley, crossed the Potomac, hastened across Maryland, captured Chambersburg, and then moved toward Harrisburg.[1]

At first it was thought that Lee might move toward Pittsburgh in order to destroy the great gun manufactories which turned out arms for the Union forces. So great was this fear that earthworks were thrown up for defense. At Philadelphia also earthworks were constructed. But the alarm was greatest at Harrisburg. Governor Curtin called for 60,000 volunteers for the defense of the State, and made every effort to withstand attack.

WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK

The alarm through the middle and eastern part of the State was intense. Valuables were gathered together and sent away to supposed places of safety, and many persons fled from their homes. One of the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad was lined for miles with locomotives and cars, some empty and others loaded with goods, all being removed for fear of capture. In Philadelphia there was great excitement.[2] Business was practically suspended, and many

[1] One object of taking Harrisburg was to destroy the long railroad bridge and thus to interfere with railroad communication between East and West.

[2] Notwithstanding the great excitement there was no financial panic. United States bonds sold at about the regular prices, and though there was every prospect that the Pennsylvania Railroad would be cut and that heavy losses would follow, its stock sold at 20 per cent above par on July 1st.

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business men enrolled themselves as guards. Families were sent north, and specie and valuables were buried or sent out of the city.

The Confederate general, Ewell, marched north, and some of his bands of raiders came within four miles of Harrisburg. The Confederate cavalry officer, J. E. B. Stuart, reached Hanover on June 30, surprising the Union general, Kilpatrick. But the latter rallied his troops and after a sharp conflict succeeded in repulsing the Confederate force. York was occupied by Early, who levied upon the inhabitants a requisition of $35,000. The Union troops who had been in York retreated toward Columbia, whose citizens to prevent a possible invasion by the Confederates, burned the long wooden bridge across the Susquehanna River.

General Meade; Gettysburg.—General Hooker, in command of the Army of the Potomac, followed Lee, keeping between the Confederate army and Washington. At this critical period differences arose between Hooker and the War Department at Washington, and he resigned. President Lincoln accepted his resignation and at once appointed General George G. Meade of Pennsylvania to the command. "It was an excellent choice. . . . The appointment was satisfactory to the officers of the army. Although the risk was great in making a change of generals at so critical a moment, fortune attended the step and smiled on the new commander during the next five days which gave him fame."

Meade hastened after the Confederates and the armies met at Gettysburg. The conflict began July 1, 1863. On the first day the Confederates were sucessful in driving the Union troops back through the streets of the town with heavy losses. And not only were the Union troops

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defeated but they met with an almost irreparable loss in the death of Major General Reynolds of Pennsylvania, "a splendid officer," said a Confederate general, "regretted by friend and foe." [1] When the news of this heavy disaster reached Meade he sent forward another Pennsylvanian, General Winfield S. Hancock, who quickly restored order and inspired confidence.

GEORGE G. MEADE

In the terrible battle which followed on July 2 and 3 both armies fought stubbornly and bravely. The charge of the Confederate General Pickett, with his fifteen thousand chosen men, is unsurpassed in history for steadiness, coolness, and determination. But it was in vain. The slaughter was terrible, and Pickett was compelled to give the order to retreat. Lee and the Confederates were defeated, and Pennsylvania and the North once more breathed freely. And when the news of Grant's success at Vicksburg was known the next day, the country felt that the strength of the South was broken. The danger had been so imminent and the losses in battle so heavy, that "there was not so much rejoicing over the victories as supreme thankfulness for a great deliverance." [2]

Lee retreated across the Potomac and Meade followed him

[1] An equestrian monument to him stands in front of the City Hall, Philadelphia, and also on the Field at Gettysburg.

[2] "The loss of the Union Army in those three days' battles was 3072 killed, 14,497 wounded, 5434 captured or missing, total 23,003; that of the Confederates. 2592 killed, 12,709 wounded, 5150 captured or mising, total 20,451."

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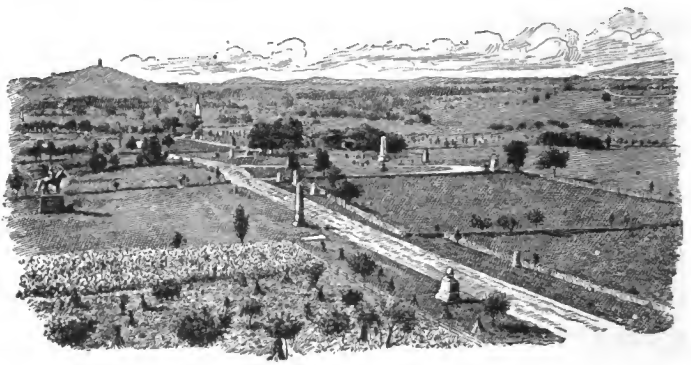
until the armies were nearly in their old position.[1] Pennsylvania did well at Gettysburg. The general commanding was one of her citizens, as were the three generals, Reynolds, Hancock, and Geary, and over five hundred Pennsylvanians lie buried on the field.



THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
Hancock Avenue looking south

Gettysburg National Cemetery. — At the suggestion of Governor Curtin the States whose troops took part in the battle joined in establishing a national cemetery for the soldiers who had fallen. The cemetery was dedicated November 19, 1863. President Lincoln was present and delivered his brief "Gettysburg Speech," one of the best known and finest orations given on American soil.

The Gettysburg cemetery became the property of the Nation in 1872, and the whole battle-field was made a national military park. It has been carefully restored to its condition at the time of the battle. The various stations of the troops,

[1] Meade has been much blamed by some for not following Lee rapidly, but such criticism comes chiefly from those who take it for granted that Meade knew more than it was possible for him to know at the time.

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the lines and places of attack and defense have been marked, so that it is possible to get a very clear idea of the battle. Several hundred monuments have been erected on the field.

Third Confederate Invasion, 1864; Burning of Chambersburg.— Pennsylvania had still another experience of Confederate attacks. General McCausland, late in July, 1864, crossed the Potomac and Maryland, and appeared with about three thousand men before Chambersburg. He demanded $500,000 in greenbacks or $100,000 in gold, to be paid in half an hour, or the town would be burned. He was informed that the citizens could not and would not pay such a sum. He then ordered his troops to set fire to the buildings. Houses were broken into, oil poured over the furniture, and matches applied. In a very short time the town was in ashes and about three thousand people left homeless and houseless, some of them losing their all. Then the raiders rode off, having gained little or nothing.[1] Claims for losses were made upon the State and after an examination by a special commission the inhabitants of the counties along the border were paid about $3,500,000.

Pennsylvania in the Army, Cabinet, and Congress. — Pennsylvania was well represented during this period not only in the army, but also in the cabinet and Congress. Simon Cameron was secretary of war (1861–1862), Edwin M. Stanton, a citizen of the State, attorney-general (1860–1861) and secretary of war (1862–1868), Galusha A. Grow, speaker of the national House of Representatives (1861–1863), and Thaddeus Stevens, one of the most influential members of Congress (1861–1868), and chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

[1] McCausland said the burning was "in retaliation of the depredations committed by Major General Hunter . . . during his recent raid."

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Sanitary Fair, 1864.—Among the agencies for improving the physical condition of the soldiers was the United States Sanitary Commission. This was supported by private subscriptions. In its aid several fairs had been held in various cities of the country. Such a fair was held in Philadelphia, June 7 to June 28, 1864. Temporary buildings were erected in Logan Square and quantities of articles for exhibition and for sale were contributed from all over the State, and also from New Jersey and Delaware. About one million dollars was raised; it was the most successful of all the "sanitary fairs," as they were called.

Care for the National Troops.—Another charitable work, which Philadelphia shared with other cities, was looking after the welfare of the troops passing through the city. Two restaurants were established near the railroad station from which soldiers were sent to the South. Here the men were furnished with food and other comforts. Both of these were opened in May, 1861. One of them fed more than 600,000 men between May 27, 1861, and August 28, 1865; the other, in the same period, fed 800,000 men. There was attached to one of the restaurants a free hospital. The large amount of money spent was raised by voluntary contributions.

Another charitable work entered upon at the suggestion of Governor Curtin was the establishment, at the public charge, of institutions for the maintenance and education of the orphan children of soldiers.

Heavy as had been the extra expenses of the State connected with the Civil War, her finances continually improved, and Pennsylvania came out of the war with even higher financial credit than she had at the beginning.

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CHAPTER XXI

SPECULATION, PETROLEUM, NEW CONSTITUTION, STRIKES

Politics; Speculation. — Governor Curtin had been elected for a second term in 1863, but by a largely reduced majority. He was succeeded in 1867 by John W. Geary, who had fought with distinction in both the Mexican and Civil Wars, and had been governor of Kansas during the trying times of the Kansas-Nebraska troubles. Governor Geary served two terms (1867–1873). During his administration the State debt was reduced about $10,000,000.

After the war there was much prosperity and the natural resources of the State were rapidly developed. The many large government contracts which were needed during the war had given an opportunity for making money, frequently in questionable ways. The fluctuation in the value of government bonds and paper money had led to extensive speculation, and there had been a wonderful amount of railroad building.

Petroleum. — Another source of sudden wealth and of speculation was the discovery, or rather development, of petroleum in western Pennsylvania. Mineral oil had been known in this region since the earliest settlement, and small quantities had been gathered from the surface of the streams and ponds, but that was about all. David Zeisberger, in his journal written in 1769, speaks of oil in what is now Forest County. He says, "It is used medicinally for toothache, rheumatism, etc. Sometimes it is taken internally. It is of a brown color and burns well and can be used in lamps." But petroleum

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did not become a commercial product until 1859.[1] In that year Edwin L. Drake, of New York State, bored an oil well near Oil Creek, not far from Titusville, Pennsylvania, which produced twenty-five barrels a day by pumping. This result occasioned much excitement, but the lack of transportation facilities was a serious hindrance, for the oil had to be carried in wagons over rough roads, or in boats on streams with an uncertain flow of water. The Civil War distracted attention to some degree from the oil fields, but with all these drawbacks the number of wells was vastly increased. In 1859 the output was about 1800 barrels; in 1860 nearly 500,000 barrels, and in 1861 about 2,000,000 barrels, and the price had fallen from about forty cents per gallon to ten cents. When more railroads were built the number of wells and the amount of the product increased enormously. At first the crude oil was shipped in barrels, then in tank cars, but in later years by far the greatest part has been carried by means of large pipes to the great refineries near Philadelphia and elsewhere. At various places along the pipe-lines there are pumping stations to force the oil along.

Even before the wells had been opened a method of refining the crude oil had been discovered, and under improved systems not only is refined oil obtained but also about two hundred other substances known as by-products have been discovered. The most important of these are the lubricating oils and gasoline. Up to 1895 Pennsylvania was the largest producer of petroleum, but in 1911 she stood seventh.[2]

[1] Petroleum was known in the Kanawha Valley, Virginia, in 1806, and in 1836 from 50 to 100 barrels were annually collected; it was known in Ohio in 1814; in Kentucky in 1825, and in New York as early as 1627.

[2] In 1911 California produced 81,000,000 barrels, Oklahoma 52,000,000, and Pennsylvania about 8,800,000.

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PHILADELPHIA CITY HALL

The largest municipal building in the world; built 1874–1887, at a cost of $20,000,000. The tower is 548 feet high, and is surmounted by a statue of William Penn

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ALLEGHENY AND MONONGAHELA RIVERS AT PITTSBURGH

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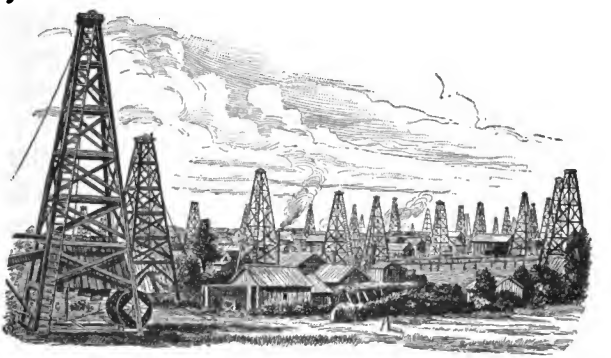
The rapid rise of the value of land in the oil regions and the enormous production of oil led to sudden gaining of great wealth, and the phrase "struck oil" became proverbial for any quick accumulation of money. Speculation also became very common. Immense quantities of oil were exported, and Philadelphia became the largest exporter of petroleum in the country.



A View in the Oil District in 1868

Natural Gas. — Natural gas had long been known to exist in New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other States, but it was not until 1875 that it was used in the manufacture of steel. In 1884 it was introduced into Pittsburgh by means of pipes. The possibilities of its use soon became evident, and it was but a short time before many wells were sunk and the gas was used extensively for manufacturing purposes, as well as for illumination and heating. It was also found possible to bring it from great distances.

Constitution of 1873. — The most important matter during Governor Geary's administration was the adoption of a new State Constitution. Pennsylvania had already adopted three constitutions, one in 1776, one 1790, and one in 1838. This

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latter had been amended in 1850 and in 1871.[1] But the feeling had become so strong that great changes were needed that in 1871 the Legislature put before the voters the question of calling a convention to prepare a new Constitution. The result was a large majority in favor of such a course.

The convention met at Harrisburg in November, 1872, and afterwards adjourned to Philadelphia. The convention included a large number of the ablest men in the State, and was a highly creditable assembly. The new Constitution was ratified by the voters by a majority of more than two to one, and went into effect January 1, 1874.

Constitutional Changes. — The aim which the framers set before themselves was to protect the rights of the people as much as possible, and to take away from the State officials and the Legislature as much of their power, especially of appointment, as seemed most likely to encourage bribery and corruption. Thus the State treasurer was added to the list of elective officials; and a pardon board was created, without whose recommendation no criminal could be pardoned by the governor. An excellent change was that allowing the governor to veto special items in appropriation bills.[2]

Both houses of the Legislature were made larger on the ground that larger numbers would be harder to bribe. Biennial sessions of the Legislature were adopted, partly with a view to lessen the opportunity for lobbying and partly in the belief that once in two years was often enough for the Legis-

[1] The first amendment was to make the judges elective, and the second to make the secretary of the commonwealth elective.

[2] Previously the whole bill had to be signed or vetoed. This fact allowed very undesirable items to be included in a bill. As appropriation bills were frequently passed near the close of a session a governor would often sign a bill containing appropriations of which he disapproved rather than call an extra session of the Legislature.

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lature to meet.[1] Besides this there are many restrictions on the power of the Legislature. The term of the governor was extended to four years with the provision that he cannot succeed himself.[2] The office of lieutenant-governor was created, and he was made a member of the pardon board *ex-officio*. The date of the state elections was changed from October to November, to take place on the same day as the national elections. A new system of ballots was adopted with the object of making elections fair and honest. Another fruitful source of unwise and evil laws had been special legislation, and this was prohibited. Many other minor changes were made, and provisions adopted to meet the new conditions which had arisen in regard to railroad and other great corporations. Taken as a whole the Constitution was an unusually good one and it has worked well. Several amendments have been made to this Constitution in recent years, but they do not change the essential features of the document.

Political Leaders; "Bosses." — Like the other States, Pennsylvania has had men who became leaders in political affairs and controlled, or at least influenced, legislation and appointments to such a degree as to be almost autocrats in politics. These men are known as "bosses."

Simon Cameron (1799–1889) was such a man. Originally a Democrat and sent as one to the United States Senate in 1845, he joined the Republican party when it was formed and remained one of its prominent members. He was senator again (1857–1861) and was, as has been seen, secretary of

[1] At the present time (1913) the Legislatures of forty States meet biennially, seven annually, and one (Alabama) quadrennially. In most States the number of days a Legislature can sit is fixed; the period is unlimited in Pennsylvania.

[2] A similar restriction applies to the auditor-general and state treasurer.

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war (1861–1862), then minister to Russia (1862), and senator again (1867–1877). He resigned in 1877 and was succeeded by his son, J. Donald Cameron, who held the office for twenty years. Another skillful party manager was Matthew Stanley Quay (1833–1904), who was secretary of the commonwealth (1877–1878, 1879–1882), and was chosen United States senator in 1887, and held the office for twelve years. He was again chosen senator by the Legislature and held office (1901–1904).

Financial Crisis of 1873; Labor Troubles.—The serious financial crisis of 1873 was severely felt in Pennsylvania. The banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., in Philadelphia, failed and this was followed by the failure of many commercial houses and a general depression in all business and manufacturing interests. The depression lasted a long time and wages were reduced and production generally lessened.

But this was not all. Serious labor troubles followed. The first of these is known as the Molly Maguire troubles. The Molly Maguires were men who formed a secret organization for their own protection. Many deeds of violence were done under the authority of this organization. They began during the Civil War chiefly in resistance to the drafts for soldiers. It was almost impossible to trace those who committed the outrages, and all through a large district people lived in fear of their lives. At length Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Reading Railroad, whose lines ran through the terrorized district, determined to put an end to the outrages. By means of detectives he succeeded in securing many arrests, and in 1876 about twenty men were hanged or duly punished, and good order was restored.

Strikes; Railroad Strike, 1877.—There were also many strikes. One in the anthracite regions in 1875 lasted six

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months and is known as the "long strike."[1] These disputes were chiefly in regard to hours of labor, and either against reduction in wages, or for an advance. In many cases the strikers had reasonable grievances.

But the most serious strike was the Railroad Strike in 1877. This was widely extended through the country. In Pennsylvania the strike brought about the worst and most destructive riots that have ever been known in the State. The disturbances were not confined to any one place. At Reading the long railroad bridge over the Schuylkill River was burned, and at Wilkes-Barre and Scranton there was much trouble. When the railroad companies attempted to run trains with new men the men were attacked and the trains wrecked.

The worst riots were at Pittsburgh. Long trains of freight-laden cars were set on fire and consumed, buildings were burned, rails torn up, and an immense amount of property destroyed. For several days the rioters were in control of the city. The governor called out the militia, but even they were not able to quell the riot, and United States troops were sent by the government to assist the State. This action was successful in restoring order. In Philadelphia, where Mayor Stokley himself took charge, the police were largely increased in number, and were well handled. Though some damage was done it was not of great extent.

After some days order was generally restored, but wages were not increased; indeed the financial condition of the country did not admit of it. About fifty citizens and five or six soldiers had been killed in the State and more than a million dollars' worth of property destroyed.

[1] There had been a strike in the coal region in 1868; and another in 1871 so serious that the militia were called out.

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CHAPTER XXII

CELEBRATIONS, POLITICS, LABOR TROUBLES

Celebrations of Historic Events. — The people of Pennsylvania have been very ready to commemorate past events, and to join with others for the same purpose. In the period which has been reviewed, the first celebration was the centennial of the Declaration of Independence. Philadelphia was eminently the place for the celebration to take place, as there the Declaration itself had been made, and the very building in which Congress had met was still standing. The exhibition was an international one, and very many of the nations of the world were represented. The state appropriated $1,000,000 toward the enterprise, and Philadelphia $1,500,000. The buildings were erected in Fairmount Park, and the results in every way exceeded expectation. Interesting and valuable as were the foreign exhibits, the extent of the resources and manufactures of the United States, as revealed by the exhibition, was a surprise not only to foreigners but to Americans themselves.

From the foreign exhibitions the American citizens learned how much the country fell below other lands, especially Europe, in artistic matters of all kinds. No other exhibition has had so great an educational value as this one. It was at this exhibition that the telephone, then lately invented, was shown to the public for the first time. The fair was open from May 1 to November 1, 1876, and during the six months about ten million people visited the grounds.

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Another celebration especially interesting to Pennsylvanians was that in 1882 of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of William Penn. A vessel representing the *Welcome* came first to Chester. From it there came on shore a company representing William Penn and his companions. The next day the vessel reached Philadelphia, and the company landed at Dock Street, and speeches and processions representing the progress since Penn's day followed. The celebration lasted several days.

Another grand celebration lasting for three days took place in 1887 to commemorate the centennial of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which had been drawn up in Philadelphia.

In 1884 an Electrical Exhibition was held in West Philadelphia to illustrate the advance in the practical uses of electricity. The extent and variety of the applications of electricity were surprising to the many visitors. But so rapid has been the progress in the employment of this power that the wonders of that time are now matters of every day use.

Among other celebrations that followed those already mentioned must be placed the Historical Pageant[1] which took place in Philadelphia October 7 to 12, 1912. This was intended to represent the principal episodes in the history of Pennsylvania and of Philadelphia from the time of the landing of the Dutch colonists down to the consolidation of the city in 1854. The scenes were the result of careful study and thousands of spectators viewed them with much pleasure.

Philadelphia City Hall. — On July 4, 1874, the foundations were laid for a much needed City Hall in Philadelphia. The site chosen was at the intersection of Market and Broad

[1] A pageant to celebrate the 225th anniversary of the charter of Philadelphia was held in 1908.

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streets, where William Penn had planned that the city public buildings should be. It is not likely, however, that he would have chosen to place the buildings so as to block the two finest streets in the city. Begun in 1874, the building proper was finished in 1887, and the tower was completed in 1894. It is the largest municipal building in the world and one of the most imposing. Its cost was more than $20,000,000.[1]

Burning of Capitol; New Capitol. — In February, 1897, the dignified state capitol at Harrisburg was burned. A new capitol building was at once authorized by the Legislature which was in session at the time. The new building was to be fireproof, of renaissance style of architecture, and was to cost not exceeding $500,000. The new building, though occupied by the Legislature in January, 1899, was not completed until 1906, and the interior decorations are still unfinished. The result is one of the most beautiful state buildings in America. The cost, however, owing in part to changes in the plans, has been about $4,000,000, and the furniture and general equipment about $9,000,000 more. This latter sum was such an extraordinary expenditure that investigations were made which revealed extensive and systematic fraud deserving no other name than robbery. The legal prosecutions lasted so long that several of the men charged with taking part in the frauds died before conviction. The State recovered some of the money, and two or three of the defrauders were imprisoned.

Election of Governor Pattison. — After the election of Governor Curtin in 1860, Pennsylvania remained steadily

[1] It measures 486 feet from north to south, and 470 feet from east to west. The height from the ground to the top of Penn's statue is 548 feet. The building loses greatly in effect from the fact that owing to its situation it is impossible to get a complete view of it at any distance. See picture facing page 284.

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THE STATE CAPITOL AT HARRISBURG

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THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE STATE CAPITOL

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Republican in politics until 1882. This was partly due to the skillful politicians who directed state politics, but chiefly to the fact that the Republican party was the strong supporter of a protective tariff, which most Pennsylvanians believed was advantageous if not essential for the State's prosperity.

ROBERT E. PATTISON
1883–87, 1891–95

There grew up, however, a strong feeling that reform was needed and independents voting with the Democrats elected, in 1882, a Democrat, Robert E. Pattison, as governor. Governor Pattison had been a reform official in Philadelphia and had done good service. Owing to lack of support by the Legislature and other conditions, he was not able to accomplish as much as had been expected, but he left a good record. He is the youngest governor Pennsylvania has had, being only thirty-two years old when chosen.

"High License Law." — The need of greater restrictions in the matter of liquor-selling led to the enactment of what is known as a "high license law" in 1887. This law required large sums to be paid to the State for the privilege of selling liquor, the cost of the license being regulated by the size of the city or town where the privilege was granted. A proportionally lower rate was fixed for country places. A prohibition amendment to the Constitution, submitted to the voters in 1889, was defeated.[1]

[1] The vote was 296,617 in favor, and 484,644 against the amendment.

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Johnstown Flood, 1889; Austin Flood, 1911. — In May, 1889, the State experienced in the Johnstown flood one of the greatest disasters in its history. Heavy rains caused the streams and rivers to rise to an unusual height, and there were heavy floods all along the Susquehanna and the Juniata, as well as other streams. On the Conemaugh river, about nine or ten miles from Johnstown, there was a large dam, which gave way under the tremendous pressure of the accumulated water. The water rushed forward with amazing rapidity and overwhelming force, and Johnstown, almost without warning, was struck and in a few minutes nearly destroyed. More than 2200 of its inhabitants perished, whole families in many instances being destroyed. As has so often happened, aid and supplies from sympathizing thousands were hurried to the survivors as soon as possible.

A similar disaster, though not so destructive, occurred in 1911 at Austin, in Potter County. A dam across a narrow valley gave way under the pressure of a flood, and the water swept down the valley. As at Johnstown, a warning was given, but more than a hundred persons lost their lives, and the little town was practically destroyed. Again prompt aid was extended to the sufferers.

Committee of One Hundred; "Bullitt Bill." — The feeling that better political conditions were needed was shown by the formation in Philadelphia (1880) of a Committee of One Hundred, pledged to work for reform in the administration of the city. Though not as successful as was anticipated, much good was accomplished. The charter under which Philadelphia had been governed was unsatisfactory in many respects, among others in that the mayor of the city lacked sufficient authority. To remedy this and other defects, a new charter drawn up by an eminent Philadelphia lawyer,

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John C. Bullitt, was passed by the Legislature, and went into operation in 1887. By this charter the term of the mayor is four years, and much power is given to him.

Ballot Reform; Homestead Strike. — Governor Pattison was followed by James A. Beaver, a Republican. At the election in 1890 Robert E. Pattison was again chosen governor. The most important legislation of his second term was the passage of a Ballot Reform Law. By this measure a modification of what is known as the Australian ballot was adopted.[1]

JAMES A. BEAVER
1887–1891

During Governor Pattison's term occurred (1892) a serious strike of the employees of the extensive steel works of the Carnegie Company at Homestead, near Pittsburgh. The cause of the strike was two-fold; making a new scale of wages by which the pay of some of the workmen would be reduced, and a new system introduced for the payment of all. To these changes objections were made, though very few men would have been affected as to wages. As no agreement could be reached the company began to close its works. The strikers retaliated (July 1) by preventing men from entering the works, turning away watchmen, and by practically taking possession of the works and town. The deputy sheriffs who came to regain control for the company were driven away. A company of men in the employ of the Pinkerton

[1] Though the ballot was nominally intended to secure independence and secrecy in voting, the changes made in the Australian form to a considerable extent nullified its advantages.

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Detective Agency, engaged by the Steel Company, were attacked by the strikers and some were killed and others taken prisoners. Governor Pattison, called upon for aid, sent the state militia and order was restored; work was resumed with new men, though it was long before a sufficient number were secured, so great was the fear of the strikers. It was nearly five months before the strike was officially ended.[1]

DANIEL H. HASTINGS
1895–1899

Daniel H. Hastings, a Republican, was chosen governor in 1894.

New State Departments; More Strikes; Spanish American War. — The Legislature, moved by public opinion and by the example of other States, established, in 1882, a State Department of Agriculture, which has the care of dairy and food supplies and allied interests, and also the important subject of forestry. There was also established a Department of Banking, and a new court, known as the Superior Court, to relieve the Supreme Court, which was crowded with cases.[2]

Still other strikes took place, this time in the coal regions. One among the bituminous coal miners was by great good fortune settled peaceably. Another in the anthracite fields, near Hazleton (1897), was not ended until about 3000 of the National Guard had been called out.[3]

[1] The loss to the strikers in wages was more than $1,000,000. The cost to the State was about $440,000. The loss to the company was not made public.

[2] The Superior Court consists of seven judges.

[3] The strikers were almost all foreigners. They were fired upon by the sheriff's deputies and about twenty were killed and more wounded.

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Notwithstanding all the previous strikes in the coal regions and the heavy losses which had followed, there occurred in 1902 the most extensive and prolonged strike that had been known. About 150,000 men continued on strike for six months. The supply of coal on the market became nearly exhausted, prices rose to a high level, and there was much suffering with a prospect of severer trials in the approaching winter. At last, through the intervention of President Roosevelt, the matters in dispute were submitted to arbitration, and the long strike was ended. It had lasted from May 2 to November 12. Many disturbances had occurred and portions of the National Guard had been called out until there were nearly 9000 men in service, at a great expense to the State.

WILLIAM A. STONE
1899–1903

In the Spanish-American War, 1898, Pennsylvania responded promptly to the call for troops, and about 15,000 men were mustered into service, though only part engaged in actual warfare.

Conservation of Natural Resources; "State Constabulary." — The importance of the preservation or conservation of natural resources which claimed the attention of the whole country, was recognized in Pennsylvania during the term of Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker (1903–1907) by authorizing the Commissioner of Forestry first to buy lands sold for non-payment of taxes, and then other forest lands at a

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fixed price. This has been done from time to time until there are about one million acres now in the State Forest Reserves. A State School of Forestry has also been established. A State Highway Department was set up in 1903 and aid was authorized to be given townships in constructing good roads. The Department of Health, already referred to, has done good work.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER
1903–1907

At the suggestion of Governor Pennypacker a body known as the Pennsylvania Mounted Police, or "State Constabulary" was formed in 1905, with the especial object of preserving order. Being in continuous service they are ready to act at a moment's notice, and by their timely presence, have prevented riots and disturbances. Their first duty is to protect life and property and to preserve peace, not to punish law-breakers.

EDWIN S. STUART
1907–1911

Election Laws; Governor Stuart; "Graft." — Legislation of importance was enacted in 1905, including the requirement that voters in cities should every year personally register their names; that primary elections of all political parties should be held on the same day throughout the State; that accounts of election expenses must be made

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under oath or affirmation; and also other requirements intended to make politics purer.

Edwin S. Stuart, who had been mayor of Philadelphia, (1891–1895), was chosen in 1906 to succeed Governor Pennypacker, and proved an excellent official. He was particularly interested in the conservation and development of the natural resources of the commonwealth.

Among the unpleasant incidents of the period was the revelation of "graft" and corruption in the city administration of Pittsburgh. The evil doings were wide-spread and for a time seriously injured the reputation of the city. A number of the wrongdoers were convicted and were fined and imprisoned.

JOHN K. TENER
1911–1915

Reform in Philadelphia, 1911; Pennsylvania "Progressive." — At the State election in 1910 John K. Tener, Republican, was chosen governor, and entered upon his duties in January, 1911. The revelation of conditions in Pittsburgh undoubtedly helped the cause of reform in Philadelphia, where those who had the cause of straightforward, honest, businesslike administration of the city at heart, felt that many changes were needed. The campaign for mayor was an active one, with the result that Rudolph Blankenburg, a citizen of German birth, was chosen by a small majority.[1] No mayor that

[1] He was elected by a combination of the Democratic and reform elements.

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Philadelphia has had in many years was more distinctly pledged to reform. His declared purpose was to adminster the affairs of the city in accordance with non-partisan, strictly business principles.

In the presidential election of 1912 Pennsylvania, for the first time since the choice of James Buchanan in 1860, forsook the Republican party in giving a plurality vote for Ex-President Roosevelt, the candidate of the Progressives.

Among other matters of interest in the political campaign of 1914 was the fact that for the first time a United States senator was to be chosen by a popular vote. In November the Republicans elected their candidates for senator and governor by large majorities, and greatly increased their representations in the house of representatives.

Martin G. Brumbaugh, governor, 1915–1919, of Pennsylvania-German descent, was closely identified with the cause of education, having occupied several important positions in the educational field. During his term of office he was subjected to severe criticism regarding his political course.

William C. Sproul was elected governor in 1918 and assumed office January, 1919, He had a long experience as State senator, and also in financial, manufacturing, railroad, and newspaper interests. He came to the office well equipped.

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CHAPTER XXIII

CONCLUSION

Philadelphia. — In reviewing the history of the State, attention is naturally directed to her two great cities — one at the eastern boundary and the other near the western — Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Much of the history of Philadelphia has already been given and need not be repeated. Her growth has been steady and her prosperity and wealth have been marked. Long the second city in the Union, she was passed by Chicago in the census of 1890, and has since remained in the third place.[1]

Philadelphia is one of the greatest manufacturing centers in the country; Kensington, especially, in the northern part of the city, being a hive of industry. Comparatively few persons in the State are aware of the extent and variety of goods annually produced in the city. Nearly one-half of all the woolen carpets and rugs made in the United States are manufactured in Philadelphia. The textile goods of wool, cotton, and silk which are made are almost without number. Cramp's shipyards are the largest in America, and the Baldwin Locomotive Works are the most extensive in the world. Space is lacking to give even a partial list of the other goods manufactured, so great is the variety of industries.

In Fairmount Park Philadelphia possesses the largest city

[1] By the census of 1910 Philadelphia had a population of 1,549,008 and Chicago 2,307,638.

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pleasure grounds in America, and the Schuylkill River flowing through them, and the winding romantic valley of the Wissahickon, give the park rare natural advantages.

Pittsburgh. — Pittsburgh, the second city of the State, situated where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio, has been fortunate in her situation. Like Philadelphia she has many historical associations. Here Washington came in 1753 as a young man of twenty-one to explore the land and to treat with the French and Indians, as the representative of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. It was he who suggested that a fort should be built on the "Point" between the two rivers. He was present on Sunday, November 26, 1758, when the English flag was hoisted and the place was named Pittsburgh,[1] and he visited the town again in 1770. Not far off is the scene of Braddock's defeat; and an old block house, built in 1764, remains as witness to Bouquet's expedition in 1763.

When the discovery was made that iron could be smelted with mineral coal the future of Pittsburgh was assured, for the city is surrounded by some of the most productive bituminous coal mines that are known. Later the discovery of petroleum and natural gas contributed largely to her material development. Her situation at the head of the Ohio River gives her a vast system of inland navigation, and her geographical position and natural resources have made her a great railroad center. All these things combined have caused her and the nearby towns to grow rapidly in wealth and production. The benefactions of Andrew Carnegie, Henry Phipps and others, besides those institutions established at the public expense, have furnished her with museums, galleries of art, and educational and other institutions. In

[1] The name appears to have been given by General John Forbes.

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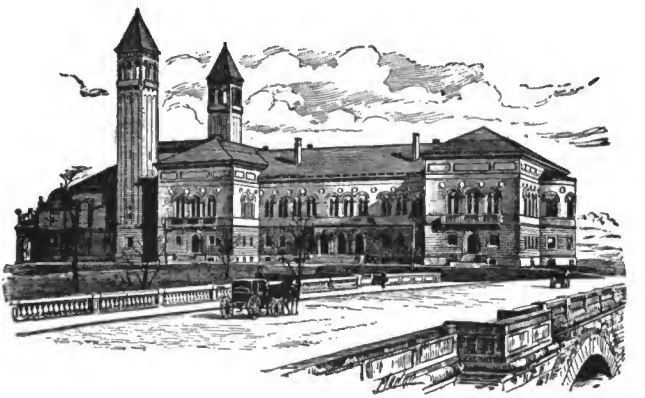
1907 the neighboring city of Allegheny was annexed, making Pittsburgh one of the great cities of the Union, her population by the census of 1910 being 552,900. Her great iron and steel works are marvels of mechanical skill and productiveness. Originally the iron used was mined in the neighborhood and



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in the State, but now nearly all the ore is brought from the Lake Superior mines. No city in the country equals Pittsburgh in the manufacture of iron and steel products.

What has been said of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh is true of Pennsylvania's other cities and towns, though in a less degree; everywhere one sees well-conceived and well-carried out plans for the development of the natural resources of the neighborhood and the State.

The Development of Pennsylvania. — It is only possible to indicate in a general way the marvellous development of Pennsylvania, especially in the last eighty years. She had, by the census of 1910, a population of 7,665,111, second only to New York State, and more than twice as great as that of the "Thirteen Colonies" combined in 1776. She had,

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besides Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, nineteen cities having each a population of more than 20,000.

Of the total population of the State in 1910, more than eighteen per cent were foreign-born. The larger part of these live in the cities. Of the foreign-born the greatest number are Germans, followed by Irish, Russians — including Poles — English, Hungarians, and Italians. In Allegheny, Cambria, Fayette, Lackawanna, Luzerne, and Westmoreland Counties, the numbers are largest, in some places amounting to nearly one-half of the population. This fact is due to the presence of coal mines and iron and steel works, which are carried on almost wholly by foreign labor.

The existence of so many of foreign birth, and especially of those congregated together, as in the coal and iron districts, presents many social, industrial, and political problems difficult of solution. The inability of many of the immigrants to understand or speak the English language is unfortunate both for employers and employees, while ignorance of the political institutions of America leads to much mutual misunderstanding.

Pennsylvania, in the early colonial days, experienced many difficulties from a mingling of races, and the conditions at present are far more diverse than at that time. To preserve peace, good-will, and mutual good understanding between these diverse elements requires wisdom and patience.

In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, the population has been tending toward city rather than country life, about sixty per cent of the population being urban and about forty per cent rural. Nearly one half of the urban population is in the two cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Agriculture. — Like many of the eastern States, Pennsylvania has shown a decrease in the acreage of farms. About

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sixty-five per cent of the land area of the State is in farms, most of which are worked by the owners. The farm lands are in the eastern and central portions of the State. The farms of Lancaster, Chester, and Bucks Counties maintain their high reputation.

The State encourages farming through her Department of Agriculture. The largest crops are Indian corn, wheat, oats, potatoes and hay. The value and quality of the apple, peach, and other fruit crops, is high. The butter, poultry, and eggs produced reach millions of dollars in value.

Pennsylvania was formerly a large producer of lumber, but the amount cut has necessarily greatly decreased, owing to the unwise system of forestry hitherto practiced almost everywhere in the Union, yet, notwithstanding, large quantities of various kinds of timber are annually marketed.

Manufactures. — In the value of manufactured products Pennsylvania ranks second of the United States, New York taking the lead. In 1909 the number of manufacturing establishments in Pennsylvania was 27,563, the number of persons engaged in manufacturing 1,002,000, the value of products upwards of $2,600,000,000; and the capital invested about $2,750,000,000. Of these vast numbers one-third belongs to three industries, in each of which the State ranked first in the country — iron and steel works; foundry and machine shops; and the production of iron and steel from blast furnaces.

Pennsylvania is also first in manufacturing coke; in tanning, currying and finishing leather; in the manufacture of glass; of tin plate; and in the production of cement, now so extensively used in the manufacture of concrete. Most of the structural iron and steel for buildings and bridges in the United States is manufactured within her borders.

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Her production of silk and other textile fabrics; of carpets and rugs; and of knitted goods is enormous.

Pennsylvania surpasses any other State in mineral wealth, and her mines produce more coal than any country in the world, Great Britain and Germany excepted.

It is not practicable to name more of Pennsylvania's productions, but enough has been said to give some idea of the number, the variety and the value of the industries that occupy her people.

Education. — Once somewhat indifferent to public education, Pennsylvania has for a long time placed a high value upon it, and the development in all that goes to make public education effective has been steady. Her school system is excellent, and in her normal schools, her high schools, and those of lower grade, her youth have ample opportunity to acquire sound and useful learning, while the University of Pennsylvania and a score of colleges, some of the highest rank, are available for those who desire an advanced education.

A new school code, passed by the Legislature in 1911, makes some changes in the management and control of the State educational system, perhaps the most important being the definite provisions for industrial education, and the provision for taking over the thirteen State normal schools under State control.

The death in 1912 of the widow of R. N. Carson of Philadelphia released his bequest of about $6,000,000 for the establishment of a school for fatherless girls somewhat after the plan of Girard College. The institution will be situated at Langhorne, near Philadelphia.

The "Keystone State." — Pennsylvania has been called from early days the "Keystone State." Though the origin of the name is not certainly known, it is easy to see how the

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name may have arisen, for Pennsylvania was the central State of the "Original Thirteen," and the figure of an arch was a symbol which would naturally suggest itself.[1]

Pennsylvania's Position in the Union; History. — It would not be possible now to speak of any one of the forty-eight States of the Union as being *the* keystone of the vast fabric which we call the United States, but it is justifiable to recognize the important position which Pennsylvania holds in the Union, particularly in natural resources and in manufactures. Her history of two hundred and thirty years is crowded with incident and full of lessons, political, social, and material. Pennsylvania was unique among the American colonies in that the conception of her government and also her early administration were the work of one man, whose lofty ideas of civil liberty and religious freedom were far ahead of his time. How pervading his influence was it is not possible to tell, but it is certain that the example and experience of his commonwealth have not been wholly in vain. As a result of William Penn's "Holy Experiment," principles, thought to be visionary, have been proved to be not only practicable but also desirable. Peace, justice to all, prevention of crime and evil rather than punishment, equal opportunity for all, are now common watchwords of those who are truly progressive.

The purpose of this book is not only to give an outline of the history of the great State, but so to place the panorama of her history before the reader as to arouse and to strengthen a determination to take part in all movements which forward the best interests and welfare of her citizens.

[1] There is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society an old print dating from the time of the French alliance during the American Revolution, which represents the thirteen States in the form of an arch with Pennsylvania as the keystone.

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APPENDIX

GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA. 1682–1913

Proprietors

William Penn	1681–1693
Under the crown of England	1693–1694
William Penn (Pennsylvania restored to him)	1695–1718
John Penn, Richard Penn, Thomas Penn	1718–1746
John Penn (2nd), Thomas Penn	1746–1776

Governors, Deputy Governors, Lieutenant Governors

William Markham, Deputy Governor	1681–1684
William Penn, Proprietor and Governor	1682–1684
The Council, Thomas Lloyd, President	1684–1686
1. Thomas Lloyd 2. Robert Turner 3. Arthur Cook 4. John Simcock 5. John Eckley — Appointed by William Penn	1686–1688
Captain John Blackwell, Deputy Governor	1688–1690
The Council, Thomas Lloyd, President	1690–1691
Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor Pennsylvania William Markham, Deputy Governor Lower Counties	1691–1693
Benjamin Fletcher of New York, Governor	1693–1695
William Markham, Deputy Governor	1693–1699
Andrew Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor	1701–1703
The Council, Edward Shippen, President	1703–1704
John Evans, Lieutenant Governor	1704–1709
Charles Gookin, Lieutenant Governor	1709–1717
Sir William Keith, Lieutenant Governor	1717–1726
Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant Governor	1726–1736
The Council, James Logan, President	1736–1738
George Thomas, Lieutenant Governor	1738–1746

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The Council, Anthony Palmer, President 1746–1748
James Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor 1748–1754
Robert Hunter Morris, Deputy Governor 1754–1756
William Denny, Lieutenant Governor 1756–1759
James Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor 1759–1763
John Penn { son of Richard W. / grandson of W. P. } Lieutenant Governor 1763–1771
The Council, James Hamilton, President . . . . . April 1771–Oct. 1771
Richard Penn, { brother of John / grandson W. P. } Lieutenant Governor 1771–1773
John Penn, Lieutenant Governor (2nd term) 1773–1776

Presidents of Supreme Executive Council

Thomas Wharton, Jr. 1777–1778
Joseph Reed 1778–1781
William Moore 1781–1782
John Dickinson 1782–1785
Benjamin Franklin 1785–1788
Thomas Mifflin 1788–1790

Governors of the Commonwealth

Under the Constitution of 1790

Thomas Mifflin (3 terms) 1790–1799
Thomas McKean (3 terms) . . . . . 1799–1808 Democrat
Simon Snyder (3 terms) . . . . . 1808–1817 "
William Findlay . . . . . 1817–1820 "
Joseph Hiester . . . . . 1820–1823 Federalist
John Andrew Shulze (2 terms) . . . . . 1823–1829 Democrat
George Wolf (2 terms) . . . . . 1829–1835 "
Joseph Ritner . . . . . 1835–1839 Anti-Masonic

Under the Constitution of 1838

David Rittenhouse Porter (2 terms) . . . . . 1839–1845 Democrat
Francis Rawn Shunk (resigned) . . . . . 1845–1848 "
William Freame Johnston . . . . . 1848–1852 Whig
William Bigler . . . . . 1852–1855 Democrat
James Pollock . . . . . 1855–1858 Whig-American

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William Fisher Packer	1858–1861	Democrat
Andrew Gregg Curtin (2 terms)	1861–1867	Republican
John White Geary (2 terms)	1867–1873	"
John Frederick Hartranft	1873–1876	"

Under the Constitution of 1873

John Frederick Hartranft (2nd term)	1876–1879	Republican
Henry Martyn Hoyt	1879–1883	"
Robert Emory Pattison	1883–1887	Democrat
James Addams Beaver	1887–1891	Republican
Robert Emory Pattison	1891–1895	Democrat
Daniel Hartman Hastings	1895–1899	Republican
William Alexis Stone	1899–1903	"
Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker	1903–1907	"
Edwin Sydney Stuart	1907–1911	"
John Kinley Tener	1911–1915	"
Martin Grove Brumbaugh	1915–1919	"
William Cameron Sproul	1919–	"

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OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FROM PENNSYLVANIA. 1783–1913

President of Congress

Thomas Mifflin . . . . Nov. 3, 1783 Arthur St. Clair . . . Feb. 2, 1787

President

James Buchanan 1857–1861

Vice-President

George M. Dallas 1845–1849

Secretary of State

Timothy Pickering . . . 1795–1800 Jeremiah S. Black . . . 1860–1861
James Buchanan . . . . 1845–1849 Philander C. Knox . . . 1909–1913

Secretary of the Treasury

Albert Gallatin . . . . . 1801–1814 William J. Duane 1833
Alexander J. Dallas . . . 1814–1817 Walter Forward 1841–1843
Richard Rush. . . . . 1825–1829 William M. Meredith . . 1849–1850
Samuel D. Ingham . . . 1829–1831

Secretary of War

Timothy Pickering . . . 1795 Simon Cameron 1861–1862
James M. Porter . . . . 1843–1844 Edwin M. Stanton . . . 1862–1868
William Wilkins. . . . . 1844–1845 J. Donald Cameron . . . 1876–1877

Secretary of the Navy

William Jones . . . . . 1813–1814 Adolf E. Borie 1869

Secretary of the Interior

T. M. T. McKennan 1850

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Postmaster General

Timothy Pickering	1791–1795	Charles Emory Smith	1898–1902
James Campbell	1853–1857	Robert J. Wynne	1904–1905
John Wanamaker	1889–1893		

Attorney General

William Bradford	1794–1795	Titian J. Coffey (ad interim)	1863
Richard Rush	1814–1817	Wayne McVeagh	1881
Henry D. Gilpin	1840–1841	Benjamin H. Brewster	1881–1885
Jeremiah S. Black	1857–1860	Philander C. Knox	1901–1904
Edwin M. Stanton (Ohio)	1860–1861		

Associate Justices of the Supreme Court

James Wilson	1789–1798	William Strong	1870–1880
Henry Baldwin	1830–1846	George Shiras, Jr.	1892–1902
Robert C. Grier	1846–1870		

President Pro Tem. of the Senate

William Bingham	1797	Andrew Gregg	1809–1810
James Ross	1799		

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg	1789–1791, 1793–1795	Galusha A. Grow	1861–1863
		Samuel J. Randall	1876–1881

United States Senators from Pennsylvania

William Maclay	1789–1791	Abner Leacock	1813–1819
Robert Morris	1789–1795	Jonathan Roberts	1814–1821
Albert Gallatin	1793–1794	Walter Lowrie	1819–1825
James Ross	1794–1803	William Findlay	1821–1827
William Bingham	1795–1801	William Marks	1825–1831
John P. G. Muhlenberg	1801	Isaac D. Barnard	1827–1831
George Logan	1801–1807	George M. Dallas	1831–1833
Samuel Maclay	1803–1808	William Wilkins	1831–1834
Andrew Gregg	1807–1813	Samuel McKean	1833–1839
Michael Leib	1808–1814	James Buchanan	1834–1845

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Daniel Sturgeon	1839–1851	John Scott	1869–1875
Simon Cameron	1845–1849	William A. Wallace	1875–1881
James Cooper	1849–1855	J. Donald Cameron	1877–1897
Richard Brodhead	1851–1857	John I. Mitchell	1881–1887
William Bigler	1855–1861	Matthew Stanley Quay	1887–1899
Simon Cameron	1857–1861	" " "	1901–1904
David Wilmot	1861–1863	Boies Penrose	1897–
Edgar Cowan	1861–1867	Philander C. Knox	1904–1909
Charles N. Buckalew	1863–1869	George T. Oliver	1909–1917
Simon Cameron	1867–1877	Philander C. Knox	1917–

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF INTERESTING EVENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

1646. First mention made of Upland, now Chester.
1669. Block-house built at Wicaco, used as a Church, 1677.
1682. John Key, the first English child born in Philadelphia.
1683. The first grist-mill built near Germantown. First school in Philadelphia, taught by Enoch Flower.
1685. First printing-press in Philadelphia, established by William Bradford; an almanac the first issue; the first book, "The excellent Privilege of Liberty & Property."
1688. First official protest in America against slavery, by the German Quakers of Germantown.
1689. Germantown incorporated. "Public school" established in Philadelphia; chartered by William Penn in 1701, 1708 and 1711, still exists as the "William Penn Charter School."
1696. The first paper-mill in Pennsylvania, erected near Germantown, by William Rittenhouse (Rittinghuysen).
1700. "Old Swedes' Church" built on site of old block-house at Wicaco. John Penn, son of William Penn, born in the "Old Slate Roof House," Philadelphia.
1701. Philadelphia chartered as a city.
1716. Iron furnace built by William Rutter, near Pottstown.
1718. William Penn died at Ruscombe, England.
1723. Benjamin Franklin arrived at Philadelphia.
1729. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* begun by Franklin.
1731. Library begun by Benjamin Franklin; chartered as the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1742.
1732. The State-House, Philadelphia, begun; finished in 1741.
1733. Weekly line of stages between Philadelphia and New York begun.
1738. Benjamin West born in Springfield, Delaware County (then Chester County). First Fire company organized in Philadelphia by Franklin.
1743. The American Philosophical Society founded in Philadelphia; German Bible printed at Germantown by Christopher Sauer, the first Bible printed in America.
1746. The first iron rolling and slitting mill in Pennsylvania.
1747. The first steel furnace erected in Philadelphia.
1749. Academy established at Germantown, now known as "The Germantown Academy."

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1751. The Pennsylvania Hospital founded at Philadelphia; buildings erected 1755.
1752. The State-House bell, "Liberty Bell," imported from England, recast in Philadelphia, 1753.
1756. Line of stages and wagons established between Philadelphia and Baltimore.
1763. Mason and Dixon began to run the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, completed in 1784 by David Rittenhouse.
1764. First medical school in the United States founded, now the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania.
1769. The Transit of Venus observed at Philadelphia by David Rittenhouse.
1770. Carpenters' Hall, at Philadelphia, built.
1774. First Continental Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia.
1776. Declaration of Independence, July 4th. Law passed for establishing schools in every county.
1782. First English Bible in America, printed by Robert Aitkin at Philadelphia.
1785. John Fitch exhibited the model of a steamboat.
1786. First American Dispensary established at Philadelphia by Dr. Benjamin Rush; John Fitch navigated a steamboat on the Delaware.
1790. Congress begins its sessions in Philadelphia. Fitch's steamboats make regular trips for four months between Philadelphia and Trenton.
1792. The first turnpike road in the United States, from Philadelphia to Lancaster, begun. The Schuylkill and Delaware Canal chartered, the first public canal in the United States.
1793. Second inauguration of President Washington, in Congress Hall.
1797. John Adams inaugurated President of the United States in Congress Hall.
1799. Lancaster the State Capital until 1810.
1800. Seat of the national government removed from Philadelphia to Washington.
1801. Philadelphia supplied with Schuylkill water from Centre Square.
1802. Anthracite coal first burned in grates in Philadelphia.
1805. The Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia founded.
1809. Thomas Leiper's railroad worked by horse-power on wooden rails at Leiperville, Delaware County.
1810. Harrisburg the State Capital.
1811. First steamboat on Western waters launched at Pittsburgh.
1812. First iron rolling-mill at Pittsburgh; Fairmount Water Works, Philadelphia, begun; finished 1815. Academy of Natural Sciences founded.
1814. Anthracite coal first burned successfully in a furnace, at Philadelphia.
1815. Schuylkill Navigation Canal begun.

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1818. First steamboat launched on Lake Erie.
1822. State Legislature met in the Capitol at Harrisburg.
1825. Historical Society of Pennsylvania founded at Philadelphia.
1827. Mauch Chunk railroad built.
1829. First steam locomotive used in America, on Carbondale and Honesdale Railroad.
1831. Stephen Girard died, the richest man in the country, worth about eight million dollars. First locomotive built at Baldwin Locomotive Works.
1832. The Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad finished.
1834. Common-school system of Pennsylvania established. Canal and railroad opened to Pittsburgh; operated by horse power until 1836.
1854. Consolidation of Philadelphia city and county.
1857. Normal School bill passed; first State Normal School opened at Millersville, 1859.
1876. Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia.
1887. The Philadelphia City charter, known as the "Bullitt Bill," in operation.
1889. Johnstown flood.
1897. State Capitol burned at Harrisburg.
1907. Pittsburgh and Allegheny consolidated into one city.

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ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES AND COUNTY TOWNS

Counties	Taken from	Formed	County Towns	Laid Out
Chester	Original	1682	West Chester	1786
Bucks	Original	1682	Doylestown	1778
Philadelphia	Original	1682	Philadelphia	1682
Lancaster	Chester	1729	Lancaster	1730
York	Lancaster	1749	York	1741
Cumberland	Lancaster	1750	Carlisle	1751
Berks	Philadelphia, Bucks, Lancaster	1752	Reading	1748
Northampton	Bucks	1752	Easton	1738
Bedford	Cumberland	1771	Bedford	1766
Northumberland	Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Bedford, Northampton	1772	Sunbury	1772
Westmoreland	Bedford, and purchase of 1784	1773	Greensburg	1782
Washington	Westmoreland	1781	Washington	1782
Fayette	Westmoreland	1783	Uniontown	1767
Franklin	Cumberland	1784	Chambersburg	1764
Montgomery	Philadelphia	1784	Norristown	1784
Dauphin	Lancaster	1785	Harrisburg	1785
Luzerne	Northumberland	1786	Wilkesbarre	1783
Huntingdon	Bedford	1787	Huntingdon	1767
Allegheny	Westmoreland, Washington	1788	Pittsburg	1765
Delaware	Chester	1789	Media	1849
Mifflin	Cumberland, Northumberland	1789	Lewistown	1790
Somerset	Bedford	1795	Somerset	1795
Lycoming	Northumberland	1795	Williamsport	1796
Greene	Washington	1796	Waynesburg	1796
Wayne	Northumberland	1796	Honesdale	1826
Armstrong	Allegheny, Westmoreland, Lycoming	1800	Kittanning	1804
Adams	York	1800	Gettysburg	1780
Butler	Allegheny	1800	Butler	1803
Beaver	Allegheny, Washington	1800	Beaver	1791
Centre	Mifflin, Northumberland, Lycoming, Huntingdon	1800	Bellefonte	1795
Crawford	Allegheny	1800	Meadville	1795
Erie	Allegheny	1800	Erie	1795

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Counties	Taken from	Formed	County Towns	Laid Out
Mercer	Allegheny	1800	Mercer	1803
Venango	Allegheny, Lycoming	1800	Franklin	1795
Warren	Allegheny, Lycoming	1800	Warren	1795
Indiana	Westmoreland, Lycoming	1803	Indiana	1805
Jefferson	Lycoming	1804	Brookville	1830
McKean	Lycoming	1804	Smethport	1807
Potter	Lycoming	1804	Coudersport	1807
Tioga	Lycoming	1804	Wellsboro	1806
Cambria	Huntingdon, Somerset, Bedford	1804	Ebensburg	1805
Clearfield	Lycoming	1804	Clearfield	1805
Bradford	Luzerne, Lycoming	1810	Towanda	1812
Susquehanna	Luzerne	1810	Montrose	1811
Schuylkill	Berks, Northampton	1811	Pottsville	1816
Lehigh	Northampton	1812	Allentown	1751
Lebanon	Dauphin, Lancaster	1813	Lebanon	1750
Columbia	Northumberland	1813	Bloomsburg	1802
Union	Northumberland	1813	Lewisburg	1785
Pike	Wayne	1814	Milford	1800
Perry	Cumberland	1820	New Bloomfield	1822
Juniata	Mifflin	1831	Mifflintown	1791
Monroe	Northampton, Pike	1836	Stroudsburg	1806
Clarion	Venango, Armstrong	1839	Clarion	1840
Clinton	Lycoming, Centre	1839	Lockhaven	1833
Wyoming	Luzerne	1842	Tunkhannock	1790
Carbon	Northampton, Monroe	1843	Mauchchunk	1815
Elk	Jefferson, Clearfield, McKean	1843	Ridgway	1843
Blair	Huntingdon, Bedford	1846	Hollidaysburg	1820
Sullivan	Lycoming	1847	Laporte	1850
Forest	Jefferson, Venango	1848	Tionesta	1852
Fulton	Bedford	1850	McConnellsburg	1786
Lawrence	Beaver, Mercer	1850	New Castle	1802
Montour	Columbia	1850	Danville	1790
Snyder	Union	1855	Middleburg	1800
Cameron	Clinton, Elk, McKean, Potter	1860	Emporium	1861
Lackawanna	Luzerne	1878	Scranton	1840

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